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SOME
CONSIDERATIONS
CONCERNING
The PUBLICK FUNDS,
The PUBLICK REVENUES,
AND
The ANNUAL SUPPLIES,
Granted by Parliament.

Occasion'd by a late Pamphlet, intitled,
*An ENQUIRY into the Conduct of our
DOMESTICK AFFAIRS, from the
Year 1721, to Christmas 1733.*



L O N D O N :

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S O M E
C O N S I D E R A T I O N S
C O N C E R N I N G
The *Publick Funds, &c.*



H A V E now before me, a Pamphlet, printed and published several Months ago, intituled, *An Enquiry into the Conduct of our domestick Affairs, from the Year 1721, to Christmas 1733, &c.* If any thing that this Age, and the predominant Spirit of Faction produces, could have surprized me, I confess, I should have been astonished at the Perusal of this Libel : I will give it no Epithets ; when I have examin'd and explain'd it, every body will see what Title belongs to the Book, and what is due to the Author or Authors of this elaborate and celebrated Performance.

To avoid Trouble in the frequent Occasions I shall have to mention the Author, I will suppose it the Work of one Hand, and always speak of the Author in the singular Number. Whatever Gentleman takes to himself the Honour of this notable Piece, I assure him, I do not envy him the Honour of it ; I have no Concern to know, or to point out the Author or Authors, it is immaterial

to my Purpose, to hurt one or more ; it is the Work, and not the Man, that I am to consider ; I have no particular Object of my Envy or Malice, and can truly say, I have no one Man in my View, always uppermost in my Thoughts, in all that I write, speak, or act.

But if any one Man was, in the highest Degree, the Object of my Hatred and Resentment, I hope I should scorn to vilify and debase him by unjust and base Reflections and Calumnies ; I am sure I should abhor to traduce and render that Government odious and detestable, for which I profess'd the greatest Zeal and Affection ; only to hurt the Man, whose Credit and Power I could not bear, and to whom, in my own Conscience, and in the Judgment of all Mankind, I had no other Objection.

It is not improper to begin with observing the Commencement of the Time examined and enquired into, *viz.* from the Year 1721 ; because it is a material Part of the whole Design, and sufficiently proves the first Motive of this Undertaking.

But if the Author had confined himself to that single Point, I declare, I had never given my self nor the World this Trouble.

There is a great deal due in Justice to Persons injured, traduc'd, slander'd and calumniated ; the Characters of Men in high Stations have generally been their Protection, not from Parliamentary Enquiries, not from regular and just Accusations, not from due and legal Prosecutions for Offences committed, or supposed to be committed ; but from publick Defamation, from publick Insults, from scandalous and seditious Libels, rendering that Authority contemptible, which can only support Magistracy, and without which Government cannot subsist.

This Consideration alone would have induced me to examine, upon what Grounds this terrible Represen-

Representation was made of the publick Conduct of our domestick Affairs, for the Space of above Twelve Years successively ; the Love of Truth and Justice call'd upon every Man that had Leisure or Opportunity, to enquire, whether these personal Imputations and Reflections were well or ill-grounded : But in my Pursuit of this Enquiry, I soon lost Sight of the Person I thought most injured, and found him the least concern'd of any body in the fatal Consequences of this extravagant Attempt. I saw him accus'd of nothing, but what he had done, not as a *Minister*, but as a *Member of Parliament*. I saw all the Actions that are censur'd and condemn'd, were Transactions *in Parliament*. No one Instance of a supposed Abuse, but what had undergone the Consideration of Parliament. All Councils and Measures, which were previously concernted, such as Treaties with Foreign Princes, and which can be no otherwise negociated, were laid before Parliament, and afterwards confirmed by the Sanction and Approbation of Parliament ; and if that is not sufficient, what Government can subsist or be serv'd ? So that this whole Mass of Mal-Administration and wicked Conduct, appear'd to me to be nothing but the Acts of the Legislature, or the Resolutions of one, or both Houses of Parliament, as the several Articles of Busines came properly under their Consideration ; but are now to be imputed to one Man, who is to be made answerable for all the Proceedings in Parliament that are disagreeable to a Set of Men, who will allow nothing to be rightly done that was opposed by them ; although it was evident at the Time, that they oppos'd only for the Sake of Opposition.

But when I saw the Person principally aimed at, arraign'd in this Shape and this Shape only, I can-
not

not but applaud his Conduct, and admire the Infatuation of his Adversaries : What can happen more for the Honour of any Man, than to be employed and continued for so many Years, in Offices of the highest Trust and Consequence, to undergo the severest Scrutiny and strictest Inquisition of a Band of *Mock Patriots*, a Combination of the Chiefs of the *Disappointed* and *Discontented* ; a numerous Train in all Ages ! and of all the disaffected Parties in the Nation ; and after all, to find Nothing laid to his Charge but the Transactions of Parliament, where all that can be said is, that an angry Minority, insensible of Conviction, are pleased to censure in Libels, what they were not able to refute in Debate, and to assert in Print, what they could not support by Argument ; obstinate and tenacious in Self-conceit, as if all that they said and thought must for that Reason only be right ; and in Consequence, that the Sense of the Nation, and the Advice of Parliament, determin'd and settled upon the most mature Deliberations, must be the Effect of indirect Influence and Corruption ; and as if all Honesty and Integrity, as well as common Sense and Understanding, were the peculiar Gifts and Portions of those righteous and able Patriots.

This short Deduction will justify me, if I come now to say, that the present Question is the *Cause of the Parliament*, and the *Cause of the King* ; I do not enter into the Hearts of Men, nor do I meddle with their Designs and Intentions ; but I think I shall prove before I have done, that the Tendency and certain Consequence of this Libel, if it is to have any Effect, can be nothing but to render all Parliaments, that have or shall differ from these Gentlemen, contemptible, and suspected to the People, and to alienate the Affections of the Subjects

jects from the *King* ; for whose Sake, and personal Interest, these great Burthens and Hardships are supposed to be impos'd upon the People.

Let it not be said, that I am now putting forc'd Constructions upon innocent Intentions, and making the Case of the *Ministry*, the Case of the *King*, in order to screen the *Ministry* from the just Vengeance due to their Crimes.

Tell me what is meant by the first Article of *Additional Grants to the CIVIL LIST?* *Civil List* mark'd in Roman Letters, common Italicks wou'd not have sufficiently mark'd the Distinction.

VOTES OF CREDIT, is the next great Article mark'd in the same manner, but lest that should not sufficiently enough distinguish who is there principally concerned, it is added, *which may be very justly esteemed Supplies of the same Kind, under a different Name* ; which, in other Words is to say, were further additional Grants to the Civil List, than which nothing is more false. But if these things are represented to have been done at the Expence and Oppression of the People, for the Sake and particular Interest of the Crown, What must be the Inference !

It is in this Light that I have read and consider'd the Libel now before me ; it is this that has provok'd me to undertake what I have now in Hand ; I have waited some Months to see if any other Person, more at Leisure, and better able, would have done the Nation Justice upon this important Question ; I have learn'd that the Poison has spread itself through the Nation, and that honest and very well-meaning Persons, when they saw a Representation of Facts so call'd, cloath'd in the Dress and Appearance of Calculations and Figures, which they thought could not lie, have been stagger'd, and silent upon a Subject that they could not answer, and

and had not seen any Answer to : And this has been my chief Inducement for attempting what I think may very properly be called, *A Defence of Two Kings, and the Two last Parliaments.*

The first Article that I shall proceed upon, shall be what concerns the *Sinking Fund.*

That the *Sinking Fund* was originally intended, projected, form'd, and appropriated to the Discharge of National Debts, incur'd before December 1716, as far as the Declaration of the Legislature in one Parliament, can bind all future Parliaments, was never doubted, but is equally contended for on all Sides ; that that Appropriation should be preserved, and that the Application of the *Sinking Fund* should, in general, go to the Discharge of the old National Debt, is just and prudent ; and that it ought not to be diverted to any other Use, but when publick Utility, and the Interest of the Nation, requires it, has never been disputed ; but that it may sometimes, and occasionally be made use of, by Authority of Parliament, when the Exigency of the Publick makes it necessary, is, what I think, is most evident.

To clear this Point it must be consider'd, whether the Nation, as a Body politick, having a Right to the *Sinking Fund*, towards discharging their Incumbrances, have, by their declaratory Appropriations, so far tied themselves down, by Authority of Parliament, that the Obligation cannot be dispensed with, or suspended for a Time, for the Benefit of the Nation, by the same Authority of Parliament ; and whether the Creditors of the Publick, and the Proprietors of the National Debts, have such an Interest in the *Sinking Fund*, and such a Right to receive the Produce of the *Sinking Fund*, in Discharge of their principal Debt, as make it a Breach of publick Faith, to apply the *Sinking*

Sinking Fund to any other Use, or Purpose; how necessary and expedient soever. And I do admit, if the Appropriation of the *Sinking Fund* towards discharging the national Debt, be any Part of the Contract betwixt the Publick, and the Creditors of the Publick ; if either upon the original Loans made by the Proprietors to the Publick, or if upon any subsequent Alterations since made in the Funds by Consent of the Proprietors, this was made a Condition, as an Inducement to the publick Creditors, to accept the Changes and Alterations, that have been made in the publick Funds ; I say, I do admit, if that be true, that the making any other Use of the *Sinking Fund*, without the Consent of the Proprietors, would be a Breach of publick Credit, and ought never to be thought of, or attempted ; and its having been done, would be a just Complaint of the Creditors of the Publick ; but until they complain, not a reasonable Cause of Clamour, if what has been done, has been for the Benefit and Advantage of the Publick.

I have read over the several Pages in this Libel, that concern this particular Question, with great Attention, to see if I could possibly follow the Author in his own Method ; but I must be excused, if I say, I found it impossible : His Manner of treating the Argument is so imperfect and uncorrect, and so unlike the Performance of a Man of Business, that to follow him, would lead me into the like Confusion, and not tend at all to clear up this important Question, which is all I aim at. I will not say, there is not one Paragraph upon this Point, that does not show, that the Question is either misunderstood, or misrepresented by the Author, I will not say it, altho' he is pleased to assert, that the contrary Notions

are absurd, inconsistent with common Sense, and common Honesty, and lately propagated to serve a particular Turn. I do agree with him, that the common Use of the Words Sinking Fund, has made the true Meaning of them a Mystery to many Readers, and let me say, to some Writers: I do likewise agree, that Gentlemen have talked very wildly upon this Subject, in Places where they ought to be a little better inform'd (which as an Attender in the Gallery, I have frequently heard) and that it is necessary to make the Nature of the Sinking Fund a little more intelligible to every Reader: How far it was necessary to be better understood by this Author, I believe will appear, by truly stating the Question.

The first Mention that ever was made in Parliament of *A Sinking Fund* to be established for discharging the *National Debt*, was in the Session of Parliament *Anno 1716*.

To obviate an Objection, which I am sensible will be made by some, tho' not at all to the present Purpose, I do admit there had been *Sinking Funds* before this Time; as in the Case of Exchequer Bills; where, in most of the Funds that were granted for circulating and exchanging them, there was a Surplus, of the Fund itself, estimated and computed to be sufficient, to cancel and discharge annually some Part of the Exchequer Bills, and in the *Aggregate Fund Act* of the First of the late King, there was a Sum of 270,999 l. 7s. 0d. directed to be paid annually, towards lessening and discharging the Exchequer Bills, the Charge of circulating and exchanging of which, was by that Act provided for. It has been likewise asserted, that in all the Short Annuities, granted for 32 Years, or the like, the Principal being to be sunk and lost at the End of the Term granted, this was to

to be looked upon as a *Sinking Fund* attending those particular publick Debts. Be it, or be it not so, this does not at all affect my Assertion, that a *Sinking Fund* made and established with regard to the *National Debt* in general, was first projected and formed in the Year 1716, and till that Time unthought of, unheard of.

The National Debt, by Means of long and expensive Wars, carried on, in Support of the Revolution, and in Consequence in the Defence of the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of *Great Britain*; and which, I believe, no Man will confess that he thinks were dearly purchased, was become very large and burthensome; but the Circumstances of Time, high Credit, and low Price of Money, led those, whose particular Province and Businesse it was, to consider of proper Means to make Use of that favourable Opportunity, that the Publick might share in the common Advantage of the flourishing State of publick Credit.

It was then contended, that it was very just and reasonable, that the Publick should have the same Liberty, that every private Man has, to pay off his Debts: when he is able; or to reduce the high Interest, which Necessity had subjected him to, as soon as he could borrow the Money elsewhere at more easy Rates; unless his Creditors would consent to accept of the common Rate of Interest upon good Security.

I must here, to avoid Tediums and Obscurity, take the Liberty to deal in Generals, without entring into any Subdivisions, or minute Distinctions, and lay it down, that the *National Debt* was then consider'd under two Heads, *Redeemable* and *Irredeemable Debts*: The *Redeemables*, the Publick had a Right and Power to redeem, and pay off whenever they were able; which was to be

done, either by providing Money for such Proprietors of *Redeemable Debts*, as insisted upon Money; or by the Publick offering, and the Proprietors accepting in lieu of ready Money, new Terms and Conditions, in Discharge of all former Conditions; and this Change and Variation at the Choice and Option of the Proprietors, instead of ready Money, which was offered and provided, must be as much look'd upon, as an actual Discharge or Redemption of the first Debt, as if it had been paid off in ready Money.

As for the *Irredeemables*, nothing could be done with them, without the absolute Consent of the Proprietors; and the only Method therefore to treat with them, was to offer them such Conditions, as they should think it their Interest to accept.

Upon these Principles, in a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the State of the Nation, in relation to the *National Debt*, several Resolutions were taken; which, upon a Report of the 23d of *March*, 1716, were agreed to by the House; and a Bill or Bills were order'd to be brought in upon the several Resolutions. A Bill was accordingly presented on the 10th of *April* following.

But a Change of Hands in the Administration happening at that Time, made the new Officers of the Revenue think some Alteration in the Measures likewise necessary; but they were forced to build upon the same Foundation; and if it was material to my present Purpose, I could demonstrate, that every Variation was to the manifest Detriment of the Publick.

But I will dwell no longer upon this, and only request, that every body who has a Desire to go to the Bottom of this Question, will give himself the Trouble to read the Votes of Parliament of the

the 23d of March, 1716, and of the 6th of June following, 1717, and there he will find among the first Resolutions ;

Resolved,

That all Savings that shall arise upon any of the present Funds by the proposed Redemptions or Reductions, be reserved and applied, after all Deficiencies that may happen upon any of the sa:d Funds are made good, towards discharging and reducing the National Debt : Which I affirm to be the first Resolution that was ever taken in Parliament, in order to raise or establish a Sinking Fund towards discharging the National Debt.

This was omitted in the second Resolutions, but was supplied, on the 28th of June following, by an Instruction, to the Committee, upon the Bill, that was brought in upon the last Resolutions.

I take Notice of this here, not as a conclusive Argument, but as an Observation that helps to confirm what will be fully proved, that *the applying the Sinking Fund to the Discharge of the National Debt, was no Condition, either expressed or understood, between the Publick, and the Creditors of the Publick.* In Confirmation of this, I have heard the honourable Person, who had the original Conduct and Management of this Affair, affirm, That no Mention was ever made of any such Condition, in all the previous Transactions and Considerations, had upon this Affair ; and it cannot be doubted, but many Conferences and Considerations were had upon this extensive Question, among the monied Men, and Money-Corporations, in order to bring the Scheme to Maturity, before it should be laid before the Parliament.

And

And as the Foundation of this Work was built upon paying off or satisfying the publick Creditors, we see in both Cases, a Provision made for borrowing Money, to answer such Demands as should be made, in Case any had been made: And in the last Resolutions, *the Bank of England*, and *the South-Sea Company* are obliged to advance, the one 2,500,000 *l.* the other 2,000,000 *l.* to carry on this great Work; and the then subsisting Funds, in Part or in the Whole, of both those Companies, were either to be redeemed, or the Interest to be reduced.

Is it then to be supposed, that these Resolutions were taken in Parliament, without the previous Consent and Concurrence of these great monied Bodies? And is it to be supposed, that when they consented to an actual Reduction of their Funds, from 6 to 5 per Cent. per Annum, if it had been a Condition to apply and appropriate this Saving towards discharging their Principal, this Condition would not have been expressed? We see this was not done in the Resolutions taken upon the 6th of June 1717; and I believe there is no Man living, who will say he remembers at that Time, that this was insisted upon, as a Condition, in Behalf of the publick Creditors.

That it was always insisted upon Behalf of the Publick, as it was design'd for the Benefit of the Publick, is most certain; and this explains, how it came to be added by Way of Instruction to the Bill. The House of Commons, who had before resolved it upon the first Scheme, took Care to supply this Defect or Omission in the second Scheme; and therefore gave this Instruction, which there is no Pretence to say, was a conditional Provision, in Favour, or Behalf of the Creditors.

These

These Things premised, I will proceed to consider this Question, as it appears to me upon the several Acts of Parliament relating thereto; and I will speak in the Words of Acts of Parliament, a Language unknown, or unused by our Author, but the only Authority that I shall rely upon.

Pursuant to the last-mentioned Resolutions, three Bills were brought into the House, and all passed into Laws, in the third Year of the Reign of the late King, *viz.*

“ An Act for redeeming the Duties and Revenues which were settled to pay off Principal and Interest on the Orders made forth on four Lottery Acts passed in the 9th and 10th Years of her late Majesty’s Reign; and for redeeming certain Annuities payable on Orders out of the Hereditary Excise, according to a former Act in that Behalf; and for establishing a general yearly Fund, not only for the future Payment of Annuities at several Rates, to be payable and transferrable at the Bank of *England*, and redeemable by Parliament; but also to raise Monies for such Proprietors of the said Orders, as shall chuse to be paid their Principal and Arrears of Interest in ready Money; and for making good such other Deficiencies and Payments, as in this Act are mentioned, and for taking off the Duties on Linseed imported, and *British* Linnen exported.

“ An Act for redeeming several Funds of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, pursuant to former Provisoes of Redemption, and for securing to them several new Funds and Allowances redeemable by Parliament, and for obliging them to advance further Sums not exceeding 2,500,000 *l.* at 5 *l.* per Cent. per Annum, as shall be found necessary “ to

" to be employ'd in lessening the National Debts
 " and Incumbrances, and for continuing certain
 " Provisions formerly made for the Expences of
 " his Majesty's Civil Government, and for Pay-
 " ment of Annuities formerly purchased at the
 " Rate of 5*l.* per Cent. and for other Purposes in
 " this Act mention'd.

" An Act for redeeming the yearly Fund of
 " the South-Sea Company, (being after the Rate of
 " 6*l.* per Cent. per Annum) and settling on the said
 " Company a yearly Fund, after the Rate of
 " 5*l.* per Cent. per Annum, redeemable by Parlia-
 " ment; and to raise for an Annuity or Annuui-
 " ties at 5*l.* per Cent. per Annum, any Sum not
 " exceeding two Millions, to be employ'd in
 " lessening the National Debts and Incumbrances,
 " and for making the said new yearly Fund and
 " Annuities to be hereafter redeemable in the
 " Time and Manner thereby prescribed.

Which three Acts are commonly known and called
 the *General Fund Act*; The *Bank Act* of the 3d of
 George the First; and the *South-Sea Act* of the 3d of
 George the First; by which Names, I shall call them
 as I have Occasion to mention them in the present
 Debate.

In the First of these Acts is to be found
 p. 321. the Clause that establishes the Sinking
 Fund, where is is enacted in the Words fol-
 lowing, "That all the Monies to arise from Time
 " to Time, as well of or for the said Excess or
 " Overplus by Virtue of the said Act made for
 " redeeming the Funds of the Governour and Com-
 " pany of the Bank of England; and of or for the
 " said Excess or Surplus, by Virtue of the said Act
 " made for redeeming the Funds of the said Gover-
 " nor and Company of Merchants of Great Britain
 " trading

" trading to the South Seas and other Parts of America, and for encouraging the Fishery; as also of and for the said Excess or Surplus of the said Duties and Revenues by this Act appropriated as aforesaid, and the said Overplus Monies of the said general yearly Fund by this Act established or intended to be established as aforesaid, shall be appropriated, reserved and employed to and for the discharging the Principal and Interest of such National Debts and Incumbrances as were incurred before the 25th Day of December 1716, and are declared to be National Debts, and are provided for by Act of Parliament, in such Manner and Form as shall be directed or appointed by any future Act or Acts of Parliament to be discharged therewith or out of the same, and to and for none other Use, Intent or Purpose whatsoever." This Clause then constitutes the *Sinking Fund*. Here is to be found, of what it consists, and to what Uses it is appropriated; and it is to be observed, that there is not to be found in this Clause, nor in any Part of this Act, nor in either of the other two Acts, whose Surplusses are here taken in, to make and constitute Part of the *Sinking Fund*, any Mention, Preamble, Recital or Insinuation whatsoever, of any Desire Request, or Condition, on Behalf of the Proprietors, whose redeemable Debts were by these Acts redeemed; that the Surplusses arising from the Saving and Reduction of their former Interests, should be appropriated to this Purpose, and this Purpose only.

Let us now examine these Acts of Parliament, and in the first Place the *General Fund Act*, which will, in the Main, clear the whole Dispute, unless in the two other Acts any material Alteration or Deviation can be found, that at all affects this Question:

The famous *South-Sea Act* of the 6th of the late King, which is so emphatically and unintelligibly called, *The Great Charter of National Faith between the Publick and their Creditors*, shall be afterwards considered, as far as it concerns this Dispute.

Anno 3. Geo. i. The *General Fund Act* then re-cites the several Acts of Parliament for establishing the four Lotteries, the Terms of Years

p. 291. for which those Revenues were granted, and states and estimates the annual Produce of the several Funds, at certain Sums, which, together with the Annuity charged for the Bankers Debt, and another small Sum amounting to about 27,300 *l. per Annum*, amounted together to 724,849*l. 6 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{3}$* . which is the *General Fund*, the Deficiency whereof is to be made good annually out of the first Aids granted by Parliament.

p. 299. This Act recites, "That whereas since the

" making the several Acts therein referred to cited, the common Rate of Interest

" for Money is very much lessened, so that it is become just and reasonable for the Publick to have and enjoy the Benefit of redeeming the several Duties and Revenues charged and chargeable as before recited.

" And whereas the Proprietors of the said Lottery Orders, or several of them, are or may be willing or desirous to accept, in lieu and discharge thereof, an Annuity or Annuities after the Rate of 5*l. per Cent. per Annum*, redeemable by Parliament.

" And several of the Proprietors are or may be willing or desirous to have their Principal and Interest due thereon, paid and satisfied to them in ready Money.

" And

" And several Persons or Corporations are or
 " may be *willing or desirous* to advance ready Mo-
 " ney for the Purposes aforesaid ; so as for their
 " Money so to be advanced, they may have such
 " Annuities as are therein expressed, until Redemp-
 " tion by Parliament.

" Now to the End that a good, sure
 " and sufficient Security may be settled p. 300.
 " and established for the due, constant and
 " regular Payment of all such Annuities as shall
 " be payable by this Act ; all the Duties and the
 " Revenues aforesaid, shall continue and be paid
 " and payable to his Majesty, &c. for ever.

" With a Proviso, that the Revenues by this
 " Act continued and made perpetual, shall be sub-
 " ject to Redemption. "

Proprietors, who are willing, and desirous
 to accept the 5*l. per Cent.* redeemable An- p. 305.
 nuieties, *in lieu and discharge of their Lottery*
Orders, shall declare and signify such *their Desire*
or Option, by subscribing, &c.

And such as are *willing and desirous* to receive
 their Principal and Interest in ready Money, shall
 likewise declare and signify their *Desire or Option* in
 Writing.

And that this Provision of ready Money might
 not be thought Imaginary or Chimerical, *The Bank*,
 by the Act afore-mentioned, of the same Session,
 were obliged to furnish 2,500,000*l.* and
 the *South Sea Company* 2,000,000 for p. 308 &
 this Purpose, or as much as should be 309.
 called for ; the Companies to have An-
 nuieties of 5*l. per Cent.* for the Money advanced,
 to be charged upon the Funds redeemed.

And if it had been necessary, the Go- p. 310.
 vernment was authorized to raise such fur-

ther Sums as should be wanting, by taking in Subscriptions for Annuities at 5 l. per Cent. per Annum.

But it so happened, that not one Farthing was ever demanded in ready Money, except very small principal Sums, amounting in the * Whole but to 471 l. 4 s. but all the other Proprietors of the Lottery Orders, without any other Exception, subscribed their Orders at the Bank, and accepted Bank Annuities, payable and transferrable at the Bank, at *their own Desire and Option*, declared and signified by subscribing, *in lieu and discharge of their former Debts; and in Preference to ready Money.*

I desire now to know, what Pretence there is to say, that these Creditors of the Publick, (and their Debts amounting to 9,533,195 l. 10 s. 5 d. $\frac{3}{4}$ is no inconsiderable Part of the National Debt) have any right to receive *the Produce of the Sinking Fund in discharge of their Principal*, or where the least Shadow of such a Condition is to be found in this new Contract or Bargain with the Publick? Their old Debt was discharged, for they accepted the Bank Annuities *in lieu and discharge of their Lottery*

*	10 l. Lottery 1711.	Principal. l. s.
Margaret Woolrich	—	20
Roger Altham, D. D.	—	100
10 l. Lottery 1712.		
Ditto	—	60
	Bankers Annuity.	
David Marshal	—	150
William Harrison and Frances Osborne	—	71 4
Geo. Bloodworth	—	70
		471 4

Very Orders : This Subscription to the Bank was in the Nature of a new Loan ; and no Conditions can be supposed to be annexed to it, but what are expressed in the Act of Parliament.

That the Hopes or Prospect of receiving their Principal out of the Produce of the *Sinking Fund*, was no Motive or Inducement to their subscribing, is manifest, for they might have been paid their Principal in ready Money, and they rejected it ; but in plain Terms, their Debt was at that Time charged upon a temporary Fund, great Part of which was worn out, and the Remainder yearly growing nearer to an Expiration, when the Interest was to cease, and the Principal to be sunk, and lost ; they therefore wisely chose an Annuity of *5 l. per Cent.* in Perpetuity, until redeemed, and then to receive their Principal again, rather than to receive a larger Income for a certain Time, and at last to lose their Principal ; and, I believe, there is not one Proprietor of a Lottery Order now living, who subscribed it into the Bank Annuities, who will say, that he looked upon the Right of receiving his Principal out of the Produce of the *Sinking Fund*, as a valuable Consideration, or as a Condition of his becoming a Creditor to the Publick, in this new Form and Shape.

There is one Thing so very weak and inconsiderate, that I would not think it worth the Notice, if it did not properly come in here, where it is said, *In order to give the Creditors this Satisfaction, the several Acts of Parliament on which their Debts are founded, are recited in the South Sea Act, and made Perpetual, to render their Repayment more certain.* I will not criticise upon Acts of Parliament being made Perpetual ; I cannot comprehend

prehend how this can be applied to the Claim made of receiving the Principal out of *the Produce of the Sinking Fund*: the Repayment indeed is in one Sense made more certain, because the Interest is not to cease till the Principal is repaid; but if the Government thinks fit to continue the Annuity to all Eternity, the Perpetuity no ways secures the Repayment of the Principal, at least not out of *the Sinking Fund*: But it must suffice to say, upon the several Funds being made Perpetual, that it was with no other Intent or Purpose than in the Words of the Act of Parliament, *To the End that a good, sure and sufficient Security may be settled and established for the due, constant and regular Payment of all such Annuities as shall be payable by this Act.* Where is there a Word said for Repayment of the Principal?

Having more than sufficiently proved, that the Proprietors of the publick Debts, interested in that Part of the National Debt, which is the Subject of the *General Fund Act*, have no Right to receive the *Produce of the Sinking Fund*, as a Condition of the new Contract, or as any Part of the Consideration, upon the new Agreement which they made with the Publick, by virtue of, or in pursuance of that *Act*: I shall proceed now to inquire whether any Thing contained in the other two *Acts* of the same Session, I mean the *Bank Act* and *South Sea Act* of the 3d of the late King, which passed at the same Time, and are to be deemed Part of the Scheme for establishing the *Sinking Fund*, and more properly ought to have been made Parts of one and the same *Act*, gives this Right to the Proprietors of those Funds.

And

And this Consideration is very material upon this Question, for as the Consent of these two great Bodies was necessarily and actually taken up on this great Change and Variation of their Properties, it must be admitted, that in their corporate Capacity, they had well considered every Part of the Proposition, before they gave their Consent to it in Parliament, and had insisted upon and stipulated with the Officers of the Revenue, with whom this Affair must be supposed to have been transacted and settled, the saving and preserving all their former Rights, Privileges and Advantages, with such new Concessions as are found to be expressly granted to them in these Acts. And it is not at all probable, if this Right of receiving their Principal out of the *Sinking Fund* in due Proportions, had been then looked upon as a valuable Consideration, but that in Regard to the Interest of their Proprietors, and in common Justice, an express Provision would have been insisted upon, and made, not only for receiving the Produce of the *Sinking Fund* from Time to Time, as it should arise in Discharge of their Principal, but that a Course of Payment would have been expressly established, to prevent all undue Preference in favour of either Company ; as is always done when any publick Funds and Revenues are appropriated to different Uses.

But it has so happened, that this supposed Right or Claim of being paid off with any Preference, or in Course, and in Proportion with other publick Creditors, was not only not mentioned, and not thought of at that Time ; but ever since, when by subsequent Alterations in the publick Funds, these two Companies have, by virtue of the Power of Redemption preserved to the

the Publick, been liable to receive the Produce of the *Sinking Fund*, as it hath been applied to this Purpose, the only Contest between them has been, who should not be paid; and the Exercise of the Power of Redemption in the Publick has hitherto been looked upon rather as a Hardship than as a Favour: So little have these great Bodies hitherto looked upon the being made liable and subject to Redemption, and a Right to be redeemed, to be one and the same Thing.

But not to inlarge any further upon Arguments, and Reasonings, let us now consider what is the Sense and Purport of the Acts of Parliament, and first what concerns the Bank: The Bank at that Time, as Proprietors of redeemable Debts, were intitled to an Annuity of 106,501 l. 13 s. 5 d. *per Annum*, in lieu of Exchequer Bills formerly cancelled, amounting to 1,775,027 l. 17 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. And the Exchequer Bills standing out on the 22d of *March 1716*, made forth by the several Acts of the 7th, 8th, and 12th, of Queen Anne, are stated at 4,561,025 l. over and above the Charge of Circulation, which was then due to the Bank. The Bank, by virtue of their Contracts for circulating and exchanging these Bills for ready Money, were intitled to 3 l. *per Cent. per Annum*, for all these Bills; and the Bills carried an Interest of 2 d. *per Cent. per Diem*, to the Bearer, which is 3 l. *per Cent. per Annum* more; and the Bank having generally been the Bearers, or Holders of all, or the greatest Part of the Exchequer Bills standing out, may be look'd upon as intitled likewise to that, or far the greatest Part of that 3 l. *per Cent. per Annum*; which together make 6 l. *per Cent. per Annum* on the whole Sum of 4,561,025 l. of Exchequer Bills; and it must be remembred, that over and

and above the Charge of Circulation and Interest of the Bills, there was granted to the Bank, upon the memorable Change of the Ministry, at the latter End of the late Queen's Reign, (an usual Effect of the Advancement of *mock Patriots* and *clamorous Reformers*) the Sums of 45,000 *l.* and 8,000 *l.* per *Annum*, making together 53,000 *l.* per *Annum*, which the Bank at this Time enjoy'd, and which make together 7 *l.* 4 *s.* 0 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ per *Cent.* per *Annum* upon all the Exchequer Bills. The Annuity payable to the Bank for the cancell'd Exchequer Bills, together with the whole Charge to the Publick for circulating the Exchequer Bills then standing out, will be found to amount to above 435,000 *l.* per *Annum*. In these Circumstances, what

says the Act of Parliament, " *The p. 336.*

" *Governor and Company of the Bank of England, in Regard the common Rate of Interest for Money, is very much lessened under your Majesty's most auspicious Reign, and their several Funds, before-mentioned, are redeemable at such Times, and in such Manner, as aforesaid, are willing and content to accept one Annuity of 88751 *l.* 7 *s.* 10 $\frac{1}{2}$, being after the Rate of 5 *l.* per *Cent.* per *Annum* on the said principal Sum of 1,775,027 *l.* 17 *s.* 10 $\frac{1}{2}$, in lieu of their present Annuity or Sum of 106501 *l.* 13 *s.* 5 *d.* per *Annum.**" And not to be too tedious with particular Recitals, the Act goes on and declares, *the Bank willing and contented, to discharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many Exchequer Bills, as amount to Two Millions, and to accept of an Annuity of 100,000 *l.* per *Annum*, being after the Rate of 5 *l.* per *Cent.* per *Annum*, redeemable by Parliament after one Year's Notice, to circulate the remaining Exchequer Bills at 3 *l.* per *Cent.* per *Annum;**

Annum, with an Interest of 1 d. per Cent. per Diem; the former Allowances to be continued to *Christmas* 1717, and from and after *Christmas* 1717, the Bank to have for circulating the 2,561,025 l. remaining Exchequer Bills, an Annuity of 76,830 l. 15 s. 0 d. at the Rate of 3 l. per Cent. per *Annum*, until redeemed, over and above the 1 d. per Cent. per *Diem* for Interest.

The Bank then is *enjoyed and required*
p. 341. to advance and pay into the Exchequer, any Sum not exceeding 2,500,000 l. towards discharging and lessening the National Debts and Incumbrances, if wanted and required; and to have an Annuity of 5 l. per Cent. for as much as they shall advance, redeemable by Parliament.

This being the Case, the Bank, which was in Possession of Receipts, out of the Exchequer, amounting to 435063 l. 16 s. 0 d. $\frac{1}{4}$ per *Annum*, accept voluntarily of three Annuities upon the three different Heads, amounting to about 304,531 l. 1 s. 3 d. $\frac{3}{4}$ per *Annum*, whereby the Saving to the Publick appears to be 130,532 l. 14 s. 8 d. $\frac{1}{4}$, per *Annum*, which Saving, it was presumed, would make a Surplus or Excess upon the appropriated Funds. How then is this Surplus or Excess disposed of by this Act? It is ex-

p. 350. presly declared and enacted, *That the Excess or Surplus which at any Time shall or may be produced by the several Rates, Duties, Revenues, and Incomes thereby appropriated, shall attend the Disposition of Parliament, and be applied according to Act or Acts of Parliament in that Behalf, and not otherwise.*

From whence I make this plain and just Inference, (there being no apparent Reason, why distinct Acts of Parliament were passed for what concerned

concerned the *Bank* and the *South-Sea Company* upon this Redemption and Reduction of their Interests, but that the particular Interest of each Corporation might have a distinct and separate Consideration, and that thereby express Provision might be made for all Privileges, Advantages, Conditions, and Considerations, that were to be saved, continued, or granted to them,) that it is impossible to imagine, if it had been the Design or View of the *Bank*, to secure to themselves, as a valuable Condition, a Right to receive their Proportion out of these Savings and Surplusses, in Discharge of their principal Debt, that it would not have been inserted in this very Act ; which being left and reserved for the General Fund Act, when the Sinking Fund was to be established, and which regarded the general Benefit of the Nation, more than the particular Interest of any particular Class of the publick Creditors, seems to me a manifest Declaration, that these Surplusses and Excesses were not to be considered any longer as any Part of the Property, which the Creditors of the Publick had in their appropriated Funds, (the Interests and Annuities reserved to them being first made good to them, before the Surplusses are computed and set apart) but that they were to be deemed a new created Property, which the Publick had, by the flourishing State of publick Credit, recovered to themselves in those Funds, saved and redeemed, *with Justice, Honour, and Equity*, and with the Consent of the Proprietors,
to ease the present Burthen of National Debts and Incumbrances, and in due Time the heavy Taxes lying upon this Kingdom.

I do foresee a Construction upon this last Quotation, which it may be conceiv'd may possibly

D 2 be

be turn'd upon me ; but as I think, if the *Cavil* is made, it is but a *Cavil*, immaterial, and inconclusive upon the main Argument, I shall omit taking any further Notice of it at present.

I have spent the longer Time in considering this Bank Act of the 3d of the late King, that it may serve in a great Measure, equally as an Explanation of the *South-Sea Act* of the same Year, which is the next Business that I undertook.

To avoid unnecessary Repetitions, it will be sufficient to say, that the Capital Stock, of the *South-Sea Company*, was at that Time *Ten Millions*, for which they received an Interest or *Annuity* at the Rate of *6 l. per Cent. per Annum*, amounting to *600,000 l. per Annum*; and likewise *8000 l. per Annum* for Management. In the same Words, as in the former Act relating to the Bank, the *Governour and Company of Merchants of*

Great Britain trading to the South-Seas,
p. 376. &c. declare, that in Regard the common
Rate of Interest for Money is very much
lessened under your Majesty's most auspicious Reign, &c.
they are willing and contented to accept an Annuity
of 500,000 l. in Lieu of the 600,000 l. with

8000 l. per Annum for Charges of Ma-
p. 378. nagement ; And it is further enacted,
by and with the Consent of the Com-
pany, that they shall be enjoined and required
to advance and pay into the Exchequer, any Sum
not exceeding two Millions, to be applied towards
discharging the Principal and Interest due on the
Four Lottery Funds of the 9th and 10th of Queen
Anne, if wanted and required ; the Company to
have an Annuity for as much as they shall advance,
at the Rate of 5 l. per Cent. per Annum, redeem-
able by Parliament.

The

The Surplus and Excess of the *South-Sea Funds*, after the Reduction of their Interest, are directed likewise by this Act, to attend the Disposition of Parliament, *to be applied according to Act or Acts of Parliament in that behalf, and not otherwise.*

And, as has been before observ'd, the Surplusses or Excesses arising from the three several Acts of the 3d of the late King, are, by the *General Fund Act* erected into, and made the *Sinking Fund*, for discharging of National Debts, incurred before December 1716.

The Substance and Purport of this Act being thus stated, all the Inferences that were justly drawn from the Observations upon the preceeding Act, will equally hold in this ; to which I may add one further Observation ; These two great Companies, being obliged by the respective Acts of Parliament to furnish respectively 2,500,000*l.* and 2,000,000*l.* towards rendring the Redemption of the Four Lottery Funds practicable, for which they were to receive Annuities at the Rate of *5*l.* per Cent. per Annum*, which was to become a new National Redeemable Debt ; and as their Merit to the Publick had been great, because without their undertaking to advance such very large Sums, the Scheme of redeeming the Four Lottery Funds might have been defeated, and in Consequence, the Saving from that Redemption had been lost ; I desire to know, if the receiving the *Produce of the Sinking Fund*, founded upon these several Reductions of Interest and Redemptions, had been at that Time looked upon as a valuable Right or Privilege, whether it had been possible for the Companies not to have insisted upon an express Provision for that Purpose, or for the Publick in Justice and Equity, to have refused to them the Benefit

Benefit of what they so largely contributed to the bringing about.

Let me observe here, what, in the common Notion of Busines of this Kind, one would think it was impossible that it should be necessary to observe, which is, that some People who write and talk upon this Subject, do not seem to make a Distinction between the Power of Redemption reserv'd to the Publick, and a Right to Redemption in the publick Creditors ; which are so far from being the same Thing, that they are almost direct Opposites ; and it is most certain, that the Power of Redemption is always inserted in Favour of the Publick, and may be to the Prejudice or Loss of the Creditors, as it may happen to be put in Execution.

All the Annuities that were settled in the Year 1716, by Virtue of the three last-mentioned Acts, were *Perpetuities* granted at the Rate of *5 l. per Cent.* *per Annum* upon a Principal of about *25,869,247 l. 18 s. 4 d. $\frac{1}{4}$* , the Amount of the National Debt at that Time redeemed or reduced : But these Annuities were made subject to Redemption ; For whose Benefit, or to what Purpose ? For the Sake of the Publick only ; that, as it was thought prudent at that Time, not to attempt the Reduction of Interest lower than *5 l. per Cent.* if the State of the publick Credit, and the lower Rate of Interest should afterwards make it reasonable to make a further Reduction to *4 l. per Cent.* it might be in the Power of the Publick to take the Advantage of such a favourable Time and Circumstances ; which happened afterwards, and the Interest paid now upon the National Debt in general, is known to be at the Rate of *4 l. per Cent.* Let it be remembred, that all the publick Funds of *4 l. per*

per Cent. have been sold at above *Par*, and that at the same Time the publick Creditors were obliged to receive Part of their Principal. Let it be remember'd, that it was lately apprehended, that the Interest of Money was falling down to $3 l. per Cent.$; which, if it had been thought prudent or expedient, might possibly have been effected; Who then would have advanc'd this Doctrine of a Right to receive their Principal, carrying $4 l. per Cent.$ to be laid out again at $3 l. per Cent.$? But the Publick then would have had a Right to pay, what the Creditors of the Publick would have been glad to have been excus'd receiving.

Having now thoroughly discuss'd this Point, as far as it depends upon the Acts of Parliament that passed *Anno 1717*, the Time of the Conception and Birth of the *Sinking Fund*; it remains only to be considered, whether in the Year 1720, the Year of the fatal and never-to-be-forgot or forgiven *South-Sea Scheme*, by the great Variation that was then made in the publick Funds and National Debt, the Appropriation or Application of the *Sinking Fund*, is any ways alter'd; but that, as it received a great Addition and Increase, Provision is made for applying all such Additions to the same Uses, and Purposes, and in the same Words as the original *Sinking Fund* was applied.

And I will begin with admitting, that if any Man alive thinks, that the *Right of receiving the Produce of the Sinking Fund in Discharge of their own principal Debt*, was either an essential Motive or Inducement to the *South-Sea Company* to undertake that great Project, or a material Temptation to the deluded Subscribers to enter into it;

I say; I will admit, that some Prêtence may be taken from that Act to support this Opinion.

But to avoid as much as is possible, the Prolixity which this Work will almost unavoidably run into, I will state such Parts of this Act of Parliament as do at all affect this Question, in as brief a Manner as I am able:

The Act now under Consideration, is the Act of the 6th of the late King George, entituled, *An Act for enabling the South-Sea Company to increase their present Capital Stock and Fund, &c.*

It recites the several publick Debts and Funds, the Acts by which they were established, the Terms and Conditions of their Continuance, the Amounts of the respective Sums of Principal and Interest due and payable, and dividing them into several Classes and Species of Debts, *viz.* Long and Short Annuities, Redeemable and Irredeemable Debts, and stating what Rate of Interest they bore, computes the Principals and Annuities at certain Sums, in order to settle the different Rates and Values at which they were to be estimated, to be redeemed, purchas'd, or taken in by the *South-Sea Company*.

The Redeemable Debts are stated at 16,546,482*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$, the Irredeemable Annuities being for the Remainder of several long Terms of Ninety-six, Eighty-nine, and Ninety-nine Years, are computed to amount to 666,821*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ per *Annum*, besides some Unsubscrib'd Lottery Annuities, and Short Annuities for Twenty-three Years, and Twenty-two Years and an Half, then standing out.

The Company is declared willing, and is accordingly authorized to take in by Purchase, or Subscription, the irredeemable Debts, at such Time or

or Times as they shall find convenient, before the 1st of March 1721, and, without any Compulsion on any of the Proprietors, at such Rates and Prices as shall be agreed between the Company and the respective Proprietors.

The Company is likewise declared willing; and is authorized at such Time or Times as they shall see convenient, (but subject to such Notices of Redemption as are therein mentioned) to take in all and every the redeemable Debts amounting to 16,546,482 l. 7 s. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ either by Purchase, taking Subscriptions, or by paying them off.

Provided; that the Company for every Annuity, Part of the Annuities computed at 666,821 l. 8 s. 3 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ so to be taken by them, may, in lieu thereof, have an Addition made to their Capital Stock after the Rate of 20 Years Purchase, and such respective Additions to their present yearly Fund or Annuity, as is after limited.

And for all such Short Annuities as shall be taken in, to have an Addition to their Capital Stock, after the Rate of 14 Years Purchase, with a proportional Addition to their present Annuity, or yearly Fund.

And for all and every of the redeemable Debts that shall be taken in by Purchases, taking Subscriptions, or paying them off, to have an Addition of 100 l. to their present Capital Stock, for every 100 l. of the Principal Monies so taken in, with a proportional Addition to their present Annuity, or yearly Fund.

Thus far the Proprietors of these publick Debts, amounting to above 26 Millions, that subscribed into the South-Sea Stock by virtue of this Act of Parliament, acted by their own Choice and Option, and without any Compulsion. The Irredeemables

were left at full Liberty to have remain'd in the Condition they were, and an express Provision was made for the Security of such as did not subscribe.

The Redeemables had their Option to have waited for the Terms of Redemption, to which they were before liable, and to have taken their Money, when the Publick had been in a Condition to pay them.

So that subscribing and accepting *South-Sea Stock in Lieu and Discharge of their former Debts and Annuities*, was the voluntary Act of them all; induced, I am afraid, by no Motive or Temptation, but the general Infatuation that then reign'd, and the imaginary Prospect of great Advantages.

And I have read over this Act of Parliament again and again, and have examin'd it most carefully, and must declare, I cannot find any Clause, Recital, or Words, that import a Condition between the Publick and the Proprietors of these Funds, that they should receive any Part of the original Sinking Fund, or of the Increase that was now to be made to it, in Discharge of their principal Debt.

If the particular Proprietors of these Debts had no such View or Desire, it must next be examin'd, whether the *South-Sea Company*, in their Corporate Capacity, had any such Intention, or look'd upon this supposed Right as any Consideration in the Contract they made with the Publick. And if the contrary to this shall appear, and that they then look'd upon the being first to be paid off, not as a Privilege, or as a beneficial Preference, but as a Detriment and a Prejudice, which they expressly provided against, I hope this Question will be no longer controverted.

That

That the Liberty of taking in the National Debts, and in Consequence thereof of increasing their Capital Stock and yearly Fund, was look'd upon as a very great and valuable Benefit, cannot be disputed : The great Contest between the Bank and the South-Sea Company, and the Bidding for it in Parliament, are too fresh in every Man's Memory to admit of the least Doubt. The South-Sea Company was resolved, at any Rate, to obtain it, and to that End they put themselves under the Engagements mention'd in the Act, and for the Considerations therein mention'd only.

In the first place, *the Company, for the Liberty of increasing their Capital Stock p. 148. and their Annuity, or yearly Fund, by such Means as aforesaid, have desired and consented, that their present Annuity, and to be increased Annuity, may be continued at 5l. per Cent. till Midsummer 1727, and from thence be reduced to 4l. per Cent. and be redeemable by Parliament.*

Here the increasing their Capital Stock and yearly Fund, is made the single and fundamental Consideration ; and so far from stipulating, that the Surplusses to arise from this Scheme should be applied in Discharge of, and in lessening their Principal, that the Company consents to accept of an actual Reduction of their Fund to 4l. per Cent. after *Midsummer 1727*, and then, and not till then, to be redeemable by Parliament ; but upon express Condition, that their present and to be increased Fund, should continue at 5l. per Cent. unreduced, unredeem'd, for 7 Years then to come.

The Act goes on, *And in Consideration thereof, and such other Benefits and Advantages as are in and by this Act provided and expressed, the said Governor and Company are willing to make such Pay-*

ments into the Receipt of the Exchequer, as are herein after specified, for the Use of the Publick, to be applied for paying off the publick Debts and Incumbrances incurred before Christmas 1716.

The Sums which they were obliged accordingly to pay in, were 4,156,306*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* for the Liberty of increasing their Capital Stock and annual Fund, by taking in the redeemable Debts, which amounted to 16,546,482*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ and four Years and a Half's Purchase for all Long Annuities that should be subscribed, and one Year's Purchase for such Long Annuities as should not be subscribed; which Sums, that the Company were obliged to pay to the Publick, were upon the Execution of the Act found to amount to about 7,000,000*l.*

In the subsequent Parts of the Act, where any Directions are given concerning the Payment to be made by the Company, of the several Sums above-mentioned, it is as often repeated, that this Money was to be paid *in Consideration of the Liberty of increasing their Capital Stock, and annual Fund;* and likewise with an Intention, that it should be applied to the discharging National Debts incurred before *Christmas 1716.*

But when we come to the particular Application of this Money, it is said, "That out of the first Monies arising of or for the several Sums so to be paid into the Receipt of the Exchequer, such publick Debts and Incumbrances, carrying an Interest or Annuity, after the Rate of 5*l.* per Cent. per Annum, or more, incurred before the 25th of Dec. 1716, founded upon any former Act or Acts of Parliament (not being Part of the Capital Stock or Fund of the South-Sea Company.)

" ny) as are now redeemable, or may be redeemed
 " on or before the 25th of Dec. 1722, shall be
 " redeem'd, and paid off in the first Place.

This seems fully to explain the Sense and Meaning of the *South-Sea Company*: There is an express Exception to the discharging any Part of their Capital Stock, or annual Fund. The Debts to be redeem'd and paid off in the first Place, were such Debts as might be redeem'd on or before the 25th of Dec. 1722. And it was before observed, that the *South-Sea Company* was to enjoy their annual Fund of 5*l.* per Cent. till Midsummer 1727.

And if we add to this, that a Provision is made for the *South-Sea Company* not to be paid off even after *Midsummer 1727*, in any Sums being less than one Million at a Time; and if we consider, that all the Debts of the Bank, except their original Fund of 1,600,000*l.* were Debts that might, among others, be redeem'd before the 25th of Dec. 1722; and that the Bank would therefore be obliged to receive their Debts out of this Money to be paid by the *South-Sea Company*; The Inference will be plain, that a Right of receiving Principal and Interest, in Preference to other Creditors of the Publick, was not at that Time looked upon as a valuable Consideration; unless we will suspect the all-powerful *South-Sea Company* guilty of so great a Partiality to the Bank, as to give up so great a Part of this inestimable Right, in Favour of their great and formidable Opponents.

It is necessary, before I close this Argument, to take Notice, that the Parliament did observe, that the Surplusses and Excesses which constitute the

the *Sinking Fund*, and which were appropriated for discharging National Debts and Incumbrances incur'd before the 25th of Dec. 1716, were like to be very much increased in Consequence of this Act; and I do admit, that by this Recital, altho' there is no Enacting Clause for that Purpose, that it was to be understood, that the new or increased Surplusses were to devolve into the *Sinking Fund*, to be made Part of it, and to attend the same Uses. I will observe likewise, that the Commons in this Act declare themselves *desirous that the publick Debts and Incumbrances may be lessened as fast as conveniently may be, with regard to Justice and publick Faith.*

But all this amounts to no more, than that the Parliament had all along, in all the Acts of Parliament that I have mention'd, a great Regard to the discharging the National Debts; and that the principal or only View in the Parliament in creating and augmenting the *Sinking Fund* was to discharge the old National Debt; but this commendable and advantageous Care was confin'd to a Regard to the Interest of the Publick, without a particular Regard to the separate Interests of the Creditors of the Publick; whose Interests, in this Case, as in Justice they ought, were to give Way to the Interest of the Publick, if in Discharge of the National Debt, they should be found to interfere.

From what has been said, I think I may very justly conclude, that the Publick has the sole Interest in the *Sinking Fund*; that the applying the Produce of it to the Discharge of the old National Debt, is an Appropriation that ought to be look'd upon as obligatory, and not to be dispensed with, or postponed, but when the mani-
fest

fest Interest and Utility of the Publick shall require it. In which Case it is most manifest, that such a temporary Use of any Part of the *Sinking Fund* is no Breach of publick Faith, no Invasion of any Right or Property which the Creditors have, in their own Right, to receive it; and that there is no Contract, Condition, or Agreement whatsoever between the Publick and the Proprietors of the publick Funds, that can justify or support any such Claim or Demand.

I am sensible I have dwelt too long upon this Subject; but it being a Question of great Importance, little consider'd, and less understood, I thought it absolutely necessary to explain it to the World, because I foresee great Use is intended to be made of the contrary Opinion.

The Libel that is now before me openly avows the Necessity and Expediency of laying such Taxes upon the People, as shall be *most grievous, and most felt*; and those Gentlemen, whose declared and only Principle is, to distress the Government, would be glad to cut off all Resources, even in Cases of the greatest Necessity; and for this Reason alone have they raised this great Dust to blind the People, and to persuade them, that what has been done, and what may be done, is in direct Violation of the publick Faith. If what I have said proves an Antidote to this Poyson, my Purpose is served; and I will now proceed to the next Article, which has most properly a Relation to the same Subject.

I mean the *gross and invidious Representation* that is made of large Sums that had been taken from the *Sinking Fund*, and diverted to other Uses, which are distinguished into Annual Sums, *said to have been taken from the Sinking Fund,* and

and are stated in a Parcel of Particulars at 495,600 *l.* per Annum, which being immediately valued at 25 Years Purchase, are made to amount to 12,390,000 *l.* as a Sum unjustly taken from the *Sinking Fund*, to which are added particular gross Sums under the same Description, which are made to amount to 2,971,500 *l.* together 15,361,500 *l.* A very considerable Sum indeed; and which very well deserves to be examin'd into and consider'd.

Part of these Sums are said, to have been taken from the *Sinking Fund*, and added to the *Civil List*; a most odious and unpardonable Insinuation, if it shall be found to have no Foundation; Part to have been applied to the Services of the Current Years, wherein they were made use of, in direct Violation of the Appropriations of the *Sinking Fund*.

I will begin with such, as are said to be taken from the *Sinking Fund*, and applied to the Current Service of the Year; and here it must be considered, whether those Funds; and which of them, did ever properly belong to the *Sinking Fund*, or were any Parts of the constituent Parts of the *Sinking Fund*.

And in order to clear this Point, we must see of what the *Sinking Fund* does consist, which is to be found in the *General Fund-Act* of the 3d of the late King, which for greater Perspicuity it is necessary here again to transcribe, and is to be found in that Act in p. 321: the Words following, " That all the " Monies to arise from Time to Time, as well " of or for the said Excess or Overplus, by Vir- " tue of the said Act made for redeeming the " Funds;

" Funds of the Governour and Company of the
 " Bank of *England*, and of or for the said Ex-
 " cess or Surplus by Virtue of the said Act
 " made for redeeming the Funds of the said
 " Governour and Company of Merchants of
 " Great *Britain* trading to the *South Seas*, and
 " other Parts of *America*, and for encouraging
 " the Fishery; as also, of and for the said Ex-
 " cesses or Surplus of the said Duties and Reve-
 " nues by this Act appropriated as aforesaid, and
 " the said Overplus Monies of the said general
 " yearly Fund by this Act established, or intend-
 " ed to be establisched as aforesaid, shall be ap-
 " propriated, reserv'd and employ'd to and for
 " the discharging the Principal and Interest of
 " such National Debts and Incumbrances, as
 " were incurred before the 25th Day of *Decem-
 ber* 1716, and are declared to be National
 " Debts, and are provided for by Act of Parlia-
 " ment, in such Manner and Form as shall be
 " directed or appointed by any future Act or
 " Acts of Parliament to be discharged there-
 " with, or out of the same, and to and for
 " none other Use, Intent, or Purpose whatso-
 " ever." By which it appears, that the *Sinking
 Fund* consists of the Surplusses or Excesses of the
Aggregate Fund; the *South Sea Fund*; and the
General Fund; and of these Surplusses only.

I must here observe, that in the Act of the first
 of the late King, intitled, *An Act for inlarging
 the Fund of the Governour and Company of the
 Bank of England, &c.* which establishes
 the *Aggregate Fund*, It is enacted, " That p. 301
 " all other Publick Monies, which, from
 " and after the Feast of St. Michael, Anno
 " 1715, shall come and be brought into the *Ex-
 chequer*, not being appropriated or appointed
 F " to

" to any Use or Uses, by any Act or Acts of
 " Parliament, *made or to be made*, shall be like-
 " wise set apart, issued and applied to and for
 " the Uses and Services in and by the present
 " Act declared and intended; as likewise the
 " overplus Monies of the yearly Sum of 700,000*l.*
 " *per Annum*, by the Act established for the
 " King's Civil List.

By vertue of these Clauses, the Surplus of the Civil List Revenues in the late Reign, and all Publick Monies remaining in the *Exchequer*, not appropriated by any Act or Acts of Parliament *made or to be made*, were made Part of the *Aggregate Fund*, that is, as long as they did remain in the *Exchequer* unappropriated; several of them were then carried to the *Aggregate Fund*, but as they were left to be appropriated by any Acts of Parliament *to be made*, as well as made, and any

Surplus at that Time arising upon the p. 306. *Aggregate Fund*, was made disposeable

for the publick Use and Service by Authority of Parliament, it cannot be doubted but that any publick Duties and Revenues which were not in themselves Part of any of the Three Capital Funds, the Surplusses whereof constitute the *Sinking Fund*, as they might be carried to the *Sinking Fund*, as long as they did remain unappropriated, so they might be dispos'd of to any other publick Use or Service by Authority of Parliament.

To begin with the Coal Duty, which among the Annual Sums charged as taken from the *Sinking Fund*, is stated at 70000*l.* *per Annum*; and the whole 70000*l.* *per Annum* is valued at 25 Years Purchase, to make the pompous Total of *Twelve Millions*, said to be taken from the *Sinking Fund*. I must observe, that the Author himself

self either did not understand what he said, or he was sensible that this Fact was not true; for in two Pages afterwards, when he comes to observe upon this Article, he expresses it, *the Surplus of the Coal Tax*, and in the next Paragraph, *upon a nominal Payment to the Publick of the Sum of 434,605 l.* which admits, that the whole Coal Duty, which in the Bill of Particulars is charg'd entire to swell the Total, was not taken for the Service of the Current Year; and yet such a strong Byass of Ignorance or Iniquity appears in this Representation, that in the next Lines it is said, *The whole Produce of this Tax was taken the next Year, to raise One Million Seven Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds*; and lest it should not be enough observ'd how great this Sum was, the usual Ingenuity is here exercis'd, and the *One Million* is mark'd in Roman Letters, to make a strong Impression upon an unwary Reader, who must conclude from this State of the Fact, that the whole Sum of 1,750,000 l. was taken for the Service of the Current Year.

For the Sake of Truth, and to show the Candor or Knowledge of this Author, which would be otherwise unnecessary, because I shall immediately show that no Part of this Coal Duty did ever belong to the *Sinking Fund*, I must observe briefly, that there was at the same Time that the Surplus of this Duty was taken for the Service of the Current Year, a Charge of 90,000 l. by Loans for the Building of Churches upon Part of this Coal Revenue; there was 103,140 l. further to be raised for the same Uses, to compleat the Sum of 350,000 l. granted for that Purpose *Anno 1719*, and there was an Annuity of 17,384 l. 4 s. per Annum, payable to the *South Sea Company* in respect of that Part of the second Lottery

1719, which was subscrib'd into their Stock, and was redeemable at 434,605*l.* and there was a Charge of 338,800*l.* for Exchequer Bills by the Act 13*th* of George the First; which Sums of 90000*l.* 103140*l.* 434605*l.* and 338800*l.* make together 966545*l.* and are most falsely charged to the Account that is under Consideration, which leaves but 783455*l.* for the Service of the Current Year, and in Consequence no greater Proportion of the 70000*l.* *per Annum*, which this Fund was computed at; I desire my correct Author will deduct the 966545*l.* out of his *Roman Million*, and when he makes up this Account again, to set the Balance of 33455*l.* in as remarkable a Light as he possibly can: In the mean Time it is but just to observe, that the Publick had really but 783455*l.* for the Current Service of the Year out of the 1,750,000*l.* which was rais'd, and the Remainder was applied to the Discharge of former Incumbrances and National Debts; and the 70000*l.* *per Annum*, is in this infamous Libel, valued at 25 Years Purchase, which is 1,750,000*l.* with no other Intent but to represent to the World, that that whole Sum was in his Sense misapplied, whereby it appears most demonstrable, that here is a false Charge of near a *Million*, wilfully, or ignorantly made; let the Author take his Choice.

But what is more material to the Question is now to be prov'd, which is, that the Coal Duty, if the whole had been at Liberty, was no Part of the *Sinking Fund*.

In this I will be as brief as I possibly can, and if what is offer'd appears to be short, a Recourse to the Acts of Parliament that are cited will give any Man that desires it full Satisfaction.

By

By the 9th of Queen Anne, the Coal Duty was granted from the 28th of September 1716, to the 28th of September 1724, and made a Fund for Building Fifty New Churches, &c. By 1 Geo. I. the Duty is continued for another Year, to provide Maintenance for the Ministers of the Fifty new Churches.

By 5. Geo. I. the Duty is further continued, and one Fund of 21000*l.* is granted for 32 Years, for raising the Principal Sum of 360,000*l.* abovementioned, for Building Churches, &c. with an Interest of 4*l. per Cent. per Annum*; and another Fund of 30559*l.* 14*s.* was created for raising the Sum of 500000*l.* by way of a Lottery for the Service of that Current Year; and the further Sum of 21325*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* was applied for compleating the Supplies granted that Session of Parliament; and it is there enacted,

" That all the Surplus, Excess, or overplus Money of the said Duty, which should at the End of any Quarter remain, during the said Term of 32 Years, after the aforesaid Sums, and necessary Charges of executing the said Act should be discharg'd, or sufficient Money should be set off for those Purposes, should be kept apart and reserv'd for the Disposition of Parliament, and should not be dispos'd of to any Use or Purpose whatsoever, but by Authority of Parliament, and according to such future Act or Acts of Parliament as should be made and passed for that Purpose.

This then was the State of the Coal Duty in the Year 1719; it was charg'd with two Funds of 21000*l. per Annum*, and 30559*l.* 14*s. per Annum*, when the Produce of it was estimated at 70000*l. per Annum*, which made a Provision for disposing of the Surplus necessary. This Transaction was in the Year 1719; the Sinking Fund

Fund was established in the Year 1716; but if it had been the Sense of the Parliament, that the Coal Duty or any Surplus of it, had belonged to the *Sinking Fund*, the Provision for the Disposition of the Surplus had been unnecessary, or the Direction that is given by the Act of Parliament had been an Invasion of the *Sinking Fund*; but we see in the Year 1719, in the Infancy of the *Sinking Fund*, when it was weak, low, and wanted all the Assistance that could possibly be given to it, and the Parliament was in a particular Manner jealous and tender of it; we see in the Year 1719, 521325*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* taken out of the Coal Duty for the Service of the Year, and the *Surplus reserv'd for the future Disposition of Parliament*; which is indeed an express Exception of this Surplus out of the *Sinking Fund*, because by Virtue of the Clause in the Act 1 Geo. I, for establishing the *Aggregate Fund*, this Surplus might have been carried to the *Aggregate Fund*, and in Consequence into the *Sinking Fund*; which it is plain, this Restriction was purposely inserted to prevent, and to leave it to the Discretion of future Parliaments, to make such Use of this Surplus as they should from Time to Time think most conducive to the Publick Good.

Let me here observe, that as the whole Drift of this Libel tends to the Abuse of one Person, and takes its Commencement from the Year 1721, when that Honourable Person came into the Treasury; this Construction was made by his Predecessors, I think very well founded, and I am sure without any Clamour from that Quarter, from whence these Complaints are poured out now in so outragious a Manner.

We come now to the Year 1720, to see what Alteration the *South Sea Act* of that Year made in this Case.

This

This Lottery of 500000*l.* Anno 1719, is enumerated among the Publick Debts, that the *South Sea Company* had a Liberty to take in; and as they were to have an Addition to their Capital Stock, and to their yearly Fund for as much of this Lottery as they should take in, which was like all others, to be charg'd on the same Fund; this Fund upon the Coal Duty, which was before granted only for 32 Years, was now granted in Perpetuity, redeemable by Parliament, but to no other Use and Purpose but that the Company might be sure of their Fund, until redeem'd by Parliament; and I must here, without repeating the same Thing over again, refer my self to the Reasonings and Arguments made use of in Regard to all other Funds taken in by the *South Sea Company*.

But in this Libel there is an Expression which in its self is too absurd to be taken Notice of, but when I have been considering, upon what it was possible to found this sort of Reasoning, I see it is more than once mentioned in general Terms, as if the granting the Funds in Perpetuity by the *South Sea Act* of the 6th of Geo. I. was an Appropriation of them to the National Debts incur'd before 1716; and in speaking of this *Coal Duty* it is said, *which being made perpetual by the famous South Sea Act of the 6th of the late King, for Payment of the National Debt before 1716, and yet in the Year 1727 was distinguished from being any Part of the Sinking Fund, and taken for the Current Service of that Year*: There is either no Meaning at all in this, or it must mean that the Duty *being made perpetual*, was thereby made Part of the *Sinking Fund*. I will not spend many Words to expose the Absurdity of this Inference; the Thing speaks itself,

itself. The *South Sea Company* undertakes to redeem several Publick Debts which were charg'd upon Temporary Funds, which were to expire and determine at a certain Time; in Consideration of discharging these Publick Debts, they were to have Annuities until their Principal was repaid; charg'd upon the same Funds, but subject to redemption by Parliament; what Security was it possible for the Company to have in these Funds, but by their being made perpetual, unless and until redeem'd by Parliament? For the Company was to enjoy the Funds until they receiv'd their Principal of the Publick, but they were to receive only their Interest out of these Funds in the intermediate Time; what limited Time then could have been sufficient for their Satisfaction? which being expired in Process of Time, and Interest only receiv'd, the Principal had been sunk and lost; which by express Agreement was to be repaid to them before their Fund was to cease and determine, which nothing but a Perpetuity redeemable by Parliament could have answered.

I think I have now sufficiently proved, that if the Coal Duty or the Surplus of it had belong'd to the *Sinking Fund*, it might nevertheless by Authority of Parliament, have been applied to any Publick Use or Service; that there is a false Charge of near a Million to be deducted out of the gross Sum, but that it did not belong to the *Sinking Fund*, and therefore the whole 70000*l.* per *Annum* is to be struck out of the Annual Charge, and the whole 1750000*l.* out of his terrible Total, stated and computed in that confident and malicious Manner at 12,390,000*l.*

Although

Although by this, you may judge of all the rest of the particulars, I will proceed next to that Article, where *the Surplus of the Lottery Fund 1714, for raising 1,250,000 l. for the Service of the Year 1729, is stated at 50,000 l. per An. and consequently at 1,250,000 l.* unjustly taken out of the *Sinking Fund*; the Case of the Appropriation of the Fund for Lottery 1714, will appear to be this.

Additional Duties on Soap, Paper, 12 Anne. printed Linnens, Silks, Callicoes and Stuffs, on Starch, on Coals exported, and additional Stamp Duties, are granted to her Majesty for thirty two Years from 2d August 1714. p. 276.

These are made a yearly Fund, and in case the same shall not amount to 105,000l. p. 296.

per Ann. then part of the yearly Fund, towards answering and paying certain principal Sums, amounting together to 1,876,400l. and Interest, with proper Provisions for supplying any Deficiencies annually, in order to raise 1,400,000l. by a Lottery, the Blanks and Benefits in which Lottery together to be repaid 1,876,400l. Principal, with Interest at 4l. per Cent. in Course on prize Tickets, and at 5l. per Cent. on blank Tickets. In this Act there is a Proviso for reserving the annual Surplus, for the Disposition of Parliament. And there is also a Proviso, that if before the end of the thirty two Years, all the Principal and Interest shall be fully paid and discharg'd, then the Duties and the Monies arising thereby, shall be reserv'd for the Use of the Publick; and shall be disposed of by Authority of Parliament, and not otherwise. p. 312. p. 317.

The whole 1,400,000l. not being advanced within the Time appointed by the last Act, and the Queen dying; upon the Accession of his late Ma-

Geo. I. p. 17. jesty, in order to encourage the compleat-
ing of the Lottery by another Act, reciting the last Act, It is enacted, that
116,573 l. 12 s. per Ann. for thirty two Years (in
lieu of the aforesaid yearly Fund of 105,000*l.*) to
arise out of the said Duties, shall be the yearly Fund;
and in case the same shall not extend to 116,573*l.*
12 s. per Ann. then part of the yearly Fund to-
wards answering and paying off the said 1,876,400*l.*
Principal, with Interest as follows, *viz.* after the
rate of 4*l. per Cent.* for so much thereof as shall
be contain'd in the fortunate Tickets of the said Lot-
tery, and 5*l. per Cent.* for so much thereof as shall
be contain'd in the Blanks, with proper Provisions
for supplying any Deficiencies annually.

By the 6th *Geo. I.* p. 150. the Duties for the
Fund for Lottery 1714. are made perpetual, and
the South Sea Company had Power
p. 167. given to them to redeem (*inter alia*) the
Remainder unpaid of the principal Sums
charged on these Duties, by paying them their prin-
cipal Monies.

In pursuance of this Act, part of the above prin-
cipal Sums for 1,876,400*l.* were subscribed into
South Sea Stock, *viz.*

l.

865,250 at 5*l. per Cent.*

538,720 at 4*l. per Cent.*

1,403,970 In all, being in the *l. s. d.*
Year 1727 reduc'd to 4*l. per Cent.*
make *per Ann.* ————— 56,158 16 0

The proportion of the Compa-
ny's additional Allowance for
Charges of Management charg'd
on these Duties is *per Ann.* ————— 646 12 2 $\frac{1}{2}$

Total Annual Charge for the —————
South Sea Company ————— 56,805 8 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
The

The Produce of this Fund at a Medium of seven Years, was —	1.	s.	d.
Annual Charges to the South Sea Company	107,111	13	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
	56,805	8	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Annual Surplus —	50,306	5	7

If it should be objected, that all the Principal un-subscribed into South Sea Stock was paid off before *Michaelmas 1725*, and from that time the several Surplusses of this Fund were brought into the Accounts of the Aggregate Fund, as being publick Money unappropriated by Parliament; and if from thence it shall be urged, that any other Application of it is a Breach on the Sinking Fund, the answer is the same as was given before in the Case of the Coal Duty. As long as it continued unappropriated, it was right to bring it to the Account of the Aggregate Fund; but as the Clause in the Act 1 Geo. I. does not take away the Power of Parliament, to dispose of any Monies, not particularly appropriated before, whenever the Parliament shall think fit to exercise that Power, it ceases in course to be within the description of that Clause; and this Fund being none of the particular enumerated Duties that make up the Aggregate Fund, the Surplus of it might be otherwise appropriated for the future, without any injury to the Aggregate Fund, and consequently to the Sinking Fund.

If it be objected that in the year 1724, 95,640*l.* was taken out of the Sinking Fund, and applied to pay off the Orders charged on this Fund, that carried 5*l. per Cent.* Interest, upon a presumption that the Sinking Fund should have the benefit of such Redemption: It may be answered, It was no wrong Application of the Sinking Fund, but it would be an Injury if it were not replaced to the Sinking Fund; but the Surplusses, which since that time

have been carried to the Sinking Fund, amounting to 159,827*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ it had thereby had more than a Reimbursement of the Money taken out of it.

If it be objected, the Deficiencies of this Fund have from time to time been made good out of the Aggregate Fund, and if so, it ought in return, to have the benefit of the Surplus: It may be answered, These Deficiencies were made good, by virtue of the Clauses in the two Acts that settled the Fund for Lottery 1714, which directed them to be made good out of any unappropriated Monies that should come into the Exchequer, this Provision being previous to the establishing the Aggregate Fund 1 Geo. I. And that Act taking in several particular Surplusses, that before were unappropriated, as well as all other publick unappropriated Monies that should arise into the Exchequer after Michaelmas 1715, it was foreseen that this would defeat the former Provisions for making good the Deficiencies of this Lottery Fund, unless a particular Provision was made for it; and therefore, after the Clause for taking in all other publick unappropriated Monies, there follows a Provision,

That nothing in this Act contained
p. 301. should obstruct or hinder the making
good any Deficiencies of the Fund of
116,573*l.* 12*s.* per Ann. but that every such Defi-
ciency should be made good out of any publick
unappropriated Monies, as if that Act had not been
made. So these Deficiencies being made good by
a Right precedent to the Establishment of the Ag-
gregate Fund, the righter way would have been,
first to have made good these Deficiencies out of
any unappropriated Monies, and afterwards to have
carried only the Surplus of these unappropriated
Monies into the Aggregate Fund, and then to make
good the Deficiencies out of that Fund, though in either
way the same Balance comes out. Yet had it been
done

done the first way, as it ought to have been, there would not have been the least Appearance of a pretence for the Aggregate Fund's being entitled to the Surplus of this Lottery Fund on this account.

Having thus cleared another Article charged at 50,000 *l. per Ann.* and estimated at 1,250,000 *l.* in like manner to be deducted out of the Annual Sum, and out of the grand Total: The next Article charg'd as taken for the Service of the Publick is, “*East-India Fund for raising 1,200,000 l. for the Service of the Year 1730, stated at 38000 l. per Ann.*

It is well known that the *East-India Company* had a principal Debt due to them, amounting to 3,200,000*l.* with a yearly Fund, amounting to 160,000*l. per Ann.* being at the rate of 5*l. per Cent. per Ann.* that this yearly Fund was liable, neither to be redeemed, nor reduced, till the Year 1736. At which time, it was insisted on by some, that the Right and Privilege of an exclusive Trade, granted to the Company, would determine with the Expiration of their Fund; but with great Strength and Reason it was insisted on by the Company, that their Corporate Capacity and exclusive Trade, had been confirmed to them by Parliament, although their Fund should cease and be redeemed. However, to remove all Doubts, and to purchase an indisputed Continuance in their Fund, and an undoubted Right and Possession in their Trade, the *East-India Company* did consent to accept from the 29th day of *Sept. 1730*, an Annuity of 128,000*l.* and to pay into the Exchequer, for the use of the Publick, the Sum of 200,000*l.* without any Interest for the same, or any Addition to their Capital Stock or Principal Debt.

The *East India Company* had two different Funds, the Duty upon Salt, and the additional Duty on Paper. At this time the Duty on Salt

was taken off, which being appropriated to the use of the *East-India Company*, could not be taken from them without their Consent. It was therefore agreed, that their reduced Annuity should be transferred from the Duties, out of which it was before payable, and be charged on the Aggregate Fund, that the Company might have a sufficient security, in lieu of the Duty on Salt, which they voluntarily consented to part with.

The *East India Company's* reduced p. 45². Annuity, being now charg'd on the Aggregate Fund, it is Enacted, by the 3d of his present Majesty, "That the additional Duty "on Paper shall be discharg'd therefrom, and shall "be deemed a saving to the Publick, and shall be ap- "plied to such uses as shall be direct'd by Parlia- "ment." And upon this Additional Duty on Pa- per, estimated at 38,000 l. per Ann. the 1,200,000l. was raised for the Service of the Year 1730.

The Question then will be, Whether this 38,000 l. per Ann. did of right belong to the *Sinking Fund*? I can but repeat what I have said upon the preceding Articles, that as the *East-India Company's* Funds were no part of those Funds, the Surplusses whereof do make or constitute the *Sinking Fund*, there is no pretence to say, that a saving made by this sort of Reduction, did belong to the *Sinking Fund*. I might add, that this matter was twice under the consideration of Parliament; for the saving, and the discharge of the Duty on Paper, was made in the third Year of his present Majesty; and then it was expressly Enacted, that *this saving should be applied to such uses as shall be direct'd by Parliament*; which was the Judgment of the Parliament in that Session, that it did not belong to the *Sinking Fund*, and might very justly be applied to any other use; and accordingly in the fourth Year of his present Ma- jesty,

jesty, it was made use of for the Service of the Year. These appear to be such deliberate Proceedings in Parliament, so thoroughly considered and debated, that one cannot but be astonished to see any Scribbler, however dignified or distinguished, take upon himself to set his Opinion in competition with the Sense of the Legislature. But there is a set of Persons, who seem as incorrigible as if they were incapable of Conviction ; and although their Arguments are answered and refuted, and shewn to the Sense of all Mankind that are impartial and indifferent, and Judges of these sorts of Questions, to be weak and groundless, they daily return to the same Objections, repeat the same Cavils over and over again, cite their own Authority, and quote themselves in support of their own Assertions, as if all that they had ever said or wrote was to be looked upon as Law and Gospel, and still persevere to that degree, that one is at a loss to determine, whether there is more Self-Conceit and proud Obsturacy, or an Insensibility and want of Understanding of the Question they litigate, in this perverse Behaviour : I will not say, that a determinate Resolution, to create all the Dissatisfaction and Uneasiness in the Minds of the People, that false Glosses and Misrepresentations of Facts can possibly create, not within the knowledge, or reach of most Readers, and most apt to make Impressions, where the Interest of the People is with the strongest Aggravations said to be affected, is the principal and only Motive of so much Virulence, Malice, and Despair. But before I have gone through and unriddled this whole Mystery of Iniquity, it will be seen what is the tendency, and must be the unavoidable consequence of this false, deceitful, and erroneous Libel,

There

There remains but one Article more upon this head of Annual Sums taken from the *Sinking Fund*, and applied to the Service of the year, which is the Salt Duty granted for the Service of the year 1732. which Transaction is of so recent a Date, and must be so fresh in every Man's Memory, that I will not dwell long upon it.

The *Sinking Fund* was now grown to a great maturity, and produced annually about 1,200,000*l.* and was become almost a Terror to all the individual Proprietors of the Publick Debts; the high state of Credit, the low rate of Interest of money, and the advanced price of all publick Stocks and Funds *above Par*, made the great monied Companies, and all their Proprietors, apprehend nothing more than the being oblig'd to receive their Principal too fast; and it became almost the universal consent of Mankind, that a Million a year was as much as the Creditors of the Publick could bear to receive, in discharge of part of their Principal.

This made the Parliament turn their Thoughts to discharge some part of the Taxes, in ease of the People; and accordingly the Duty upon Salt was cancelled and discharged, and not a word of complaint at that time of taking this Branch from the *Sinking Fund*, which by the by, might or might not have been applied to that purpose, according to the discretion of Parliament.

I foresee the Objection that will arise to this Observation from the *East-India Company's* Annuity being charged upon the *Aggregate Fund*, which so much lessen'd the Surplus thereof, which properly belong'd to the *Sinking Fund*.

But the Salt Duty being once determined and taken off, and the Produce of the *Sinking Fund* continuing still to exceed the Desires and Wishes

of the Creditors of the Publick, I believe it will not be said that the Salt Duty would have been laid on again to help and augment the *Sinking Fund.*

But the Necessities and Support of the Government calling for Supplies, which the Parliament very justly and judiciously thought ought to be raised, by the means the least grievous and burthensome to the People ; the Salt Duty, which by long Experience had been found to be very little felt by the Subjects, and therefore very few were sensible of the ease that was given by its being taken off, was again reviv'd, and made a Fund for three years to raise 500,000*l.* instead of one Shilling in the Pound more by the Land Tax : So that the Salt Duty was then made use of, in ease of the Lands of *England.*

But here I cannot omit observing the base Disingenuity of the Author, or his gross *blundering* (for it seems there are Blunderers, even among the Patriots) in stating this Fund at 185,000*l. per Ann.* and then estimating it at twenty-five years Purchase, to make up his favourite Total of above twelve Millions ; for if it had been granted in perpetuity, that had been the highest value that could have been set upon it ; but it was at that time only granted for three years ; and 185,000*l. per Ann.* in three years makes but 555,000*l.* which at twenty-five years Purchase comes to 4,625,000*l.* No great difference in this Author's way of making up Accounts to falsify above twenty in twenty-five.

I have now gone through the four Articles, making 343,000*l. per Ann.* and valued by this great Master of Figures at twenty-five years Purchase, amounting to 8,575,000*l.* and have vindicated the Parliament from robbing the *Sinking Fund.*

Fund of these Sums, which most evidently did never belong to the *Sinking Fund*; and if they had, might have been made use of by the Publick, without any Breach of publick Faith, or Injustice to the Creditors of the Publick.

I come now to the three Articles which are said to be taken from the *Sinking Fund*, and given to the *Civil List*; as this smells so strong of Disaffection in itself, and can have no effect, but to create personal Discontent and Disaffection, it deserves to be considered.

I will begin with *Annual Pensions granted by his Majesty's Predecessors*, stated at 36,200 l. per Ann. and afterwards valued at twenty five Year's Purchase; what is meant, is, that the late King's Civil List, was by surprize, and in an extraordinary manner eased from the Payment of those Pensions granted by his Predecessors, which is said to be done in the Year 1721, by an Act of the seventh of the late King: *Intituled An Act for raising a Sum not exceeding 500,000 l. by charging Annuities at the rate of 5 l. per Cent. per Ann. upon the Civil List Revenues, &c.*

In the first Place, it must be remembered, that this can relate to the Civil List of the late King only, and must be confined to that Reign.

The Civil List Revenues were granted to the late King, by two Acts of the first Year of his Reign.

The first Act, *Intituled An Act for the better Support of his Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of Great-Britain*; reciting the several Revenues that had been granted to Queen Anne for her Civil List, grants and continues the same to his late Majesty during his Life.

The barely reading the Title of this Act, almost determines the dispute: Who can suppose, that *Pensions granted by the late King's Predecessors*, held on,

on, and enjoyed without interruption by the Grantees, could possibly be looked upon as part of the Revenues granted for the Support of his Majesty's Household; and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown!

But here we find several saving Clauses, which are direct Exceptions out of the Revenues thereby granted, viz. a saving Clause for the 3,700*l.* per Week, charged upon, and payable out of the Excise. A like saving for the 700*l.* a Week charged upon, and payable out of the Post-Office; and a like saving for the 35,000*l.* per Ann. charged upon the Excise, by Letters Patent of Queen Anne, by virtue of the Act of the 12th of the Queen.

And then follows the general saving Clause in the Words following: " Saving always, to all and every Person and Persons, Bodies politick and corporate, their Heirs and Successors, Executors, Administrators and Assigns, other than to our said Sovereign Lord his Heirs and Successors, all such Rights, Titles, Estates, Customs, Interests, Claims, and Demands whatsoever; of, in, or to, or out of the Revenues, Hereditaments and other the Premisses aforesaid, or any of them, as they or any of them had, or ought to have had at the making of this Act, as fully, and to all Intents and Purposes, as if this Act had never been made, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

After the particular Savings to former Grants and Appropriations made by Authority of Parliament, this general Saving must be understood to relate to the private Property, Interests or Estates, which any private Persons had, charged upon, and issuing out these Revenues, and the Pensions granted by the King's Predecessors, were undoubtedly the single

or principal Objects to be saved and provided for by this Clause.

In the same Year another Act of Parliament passed, which we have before mentioned concerning the *Aggregate Fund*, which among other things, was for settling an Additional Revenue of 120,000*l.* *per Ann.* upon his Majesty during his Life, for the Service of the Civil Government. Let us hear the

Language of this Act of Parliament upon p. 287. this Occasion : " We your Majesty's

" most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the
 " Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament as-
 " sembled, being justly sensible of the inestimable
 " Blessings which your Subjects do enjoy under
 " Your Majesty's Auspicious Government, and
 " the good Prospect of continuing those Blessings
 " to Your said Subjects and their Posterities, under
 " Your Majesty and Your Royal Offspring, are
 " desirous that a sufficient Provision may be set-
 " tled by the most easy and effectual ways and
 " means, for enabling Your Majesty to support the
 " Dignity of the Crown, and to make an honourable
 " Provision for Your Royal Family; and have there-
 " fore resolved, that there be granted to Your
 " Majesty during Your Life, An Additional
 " Revenue of 120,000*l.* *per Ann.* which toge-
 " ther with the *Neat Produce* of the Branches set-
 " tled for the Uses of Your Majesty's Civil Go-
 " vernment, by the late Act of Parliament in that
 " behalf, may make up the clear yearly Sum of
 " 700,000*l.* for the Service of Your Majesty's
 " Household and Family, and other Your necessary
 " Expences and Occasions.

It is then provided, " that if the Re- p. 307.
 " venues settled or appointed for the Ser-
 " vice of his Majesty's Household, and of the Honour
 " and

" and Dignity of his Crown by the first Act, together with the said Additional Revenue of 120,000 l. per Ann. shall at any Time during his Majesty's Life produce in clear Money, more than the yearly Sum of 700,000 l; that then the Overplus of such Produce, being more than the said yearly Sum of 700,000 l. shall go to, and be deemed and taken to be part of the General or Aggregate Fund.

Upon the execution of this Clause the whole Question arises, which is no more than whether the 36,200 l. per Ann. Pensions, granted by the King's Predecessors, were to be deemed as part of the Revenues settled and appointed for the Service of his Majesty's Household, and the Honour and Dignity of his Crown; and to be computed as part of the yearly Sum of 700,000 l. which was to be produced in clear Money.

It must be admitted, that these Pensions were sufficiently saved and excepted, by the general saving Clause already recited, that they are as effectually saved as the 3,700 l. per Week, the 700 l. per Week, and the 35,000 l. per Ann. which were Charges and Incumbrances on the same Revenues. If so, I desire to know, by what Rule of Reason the Pensions of former Kings, are to be deemed as part of the Neat Produce of the Branches, settled for the Uses of his Majesty's Civil Government; when no Body ever dreamt, that those publick Charges and Incumbrances, were to be deemed as part of the Civil List Revenues. If the saving of private Right in one Case, is to be understood, as most undoubtedly it must be an Exception out of the Grant, it will equally hold in all. And if this was not so clear upon the very Words of the several Acts, nothing appears to me more absurd, than to suppose, that Pensions granted by King Charles the Second,

Second, King James the Second, and Queen Anne, should be looked upon as part of the *Revenues granted for the Service of the Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of King George the First*; and when the Act of Parliament directs, that the Overplus of *such Produce*, which in the other Clause is styled the *Neat Produce* of those Branches, together with the 120,000*l.* was not to be carried to the Account of the Aggregate Fund, till 700,000*l.* was made up *in clear Money*; I am astonished upon what foundation this Clamour is still insisted upon, and urged with that Vehemence and Ill-nature.

I do admit, that there was at first some pretence to make this Observation, and to inquire what was the true State of the Case; because at the beginning of stating these Revenues, these Pensions were computed as part of the late King's 700,000*l. per Ann.* but when the Observation was once made, and the matter came to be maturely considered, it appeared, and was the Sense of every Man conversant in these Affairs, that this Method of stating the Civil List Revenues, was a manifest Injustice, and direct Prejudice to the late King: What then was to be done? The Officers of the Revenue, as in Duty bound, had determined to alter this Method, and to do Justice to the Crown. If this had been done by their own Authority, though never so justifiably, and the Accounts thus altered had been laid before the Parliament, without any mention made of it, and without taking the Sense of the Parliament upon it, what would have been said then? This discovery made by these sagacious *Argus-Eyed* Inquisitors, would have been magnified, debated, and although a hundred times refuted, never departed from. What then was prudent and justifiable to be done? An

Act

Act of Parliament being then to be brought in, for charging the Civil List Revenues with 500,000*l.* towards discharging the late King's Debts, which was to be charged upon the Hereditary and Temporary Revenues, during the King's Life, and if not before redeemed, upon his Demise, upon *the Hereditary Revenues* of the Crown ; it became necessary to insert a saving Clause, to save all the publick Charges and Incumbrances, as well as the private Properties, that would have otherwise been affected by this new Charge upon *the Hereditary Revenues* ; and at the end of this Clause are the Words which give this great Offence, *viz.*
 " The said Pensions and Annuities shall remain
 " due, and shall be paid, *and shall not be deemed*
 " *or reckoned to be part of the said yearly Sum of* 700,000*l.* *during his Majesty's Life.* And this Clause being inserted, *without any Motion, Leave, or Instruction,* is the Crime, *and is called a most summary manner, at once to ease the Civil List,* of the Annual Sum of 36,200*l.*

In the first Place, I would ask, was the saving Clause necessary ? and was there ever any such Motion, Leave or Instruction given in any Bill, to add or insert any Clause, that are in themselves necessary, and would arise from the Nature of the Bill ? As the Practice in this Case, had, or might have created some Doubt, was it more justifiable to explain or remove that Doubt, a thing every Day done where Doubts have been started, although never so ill founded, or to have done Justice to the Crown for the future, without taking the Sense of the Parliament, when such a proper Occasion offered ? But this is represented as a clandestine Proceeding, and such as passed through the House unobserved. I desire to know, whether a Clause brought in as part of the Bill, three times read, committed,

committed, and reported with the Bill, is to be thought to have passed the House through inadvertency only, or whether it is not more reasonable to conclude, that it was thought so just and reasonable, that it would not admit of any Opposition, and in consequence passed without any. This I believe was the State of the Case, and I have been told, that at the time, it was concluded, by those who had the Care of the Bill, that no Objection could, or would be made to it.

This Account then comes out thus, that instead of the Civil List taking this Sum unjustly, for a certain Time, from the Sinking Fund, the Sinking Fund had for a certain Time the Benefit of this $36,200\text{ l. per Ann.}$ to the manifest Prejudice and Injustice of the Civil List.

But now I have taken so much Pains to prove, that the $36,200\text{ l. per Ann.}$ is to be taken out of his Annual Sum, of which our Author supposes that the Civil List defrauded the Sinking Fund, and in consequence, this being valued at twenty five Years Purchase makes the Sum of $905,000\text{ l.}$ part of his *Twelve Millions three Hundred and ninety Thousand Pounds*: As the whole Sum is most justly to be struck out of his Grand Total, I beg one Word upon the Accuracy or Candour of this great Accountant; this Clause passed in the 7th of the late King, and in consequence the Commencement of this Account is to be taken from *Midsummer 1721*.

The Surplus of the Civil List Revenues was accountable to the Publick, only during the Life of the late King, whose Demise happened in the Year 1727, so that this supposed Wrong had its Continuance but for six Years, which amounts to about $217,200\text{ l.}$ estimated by this Ingenious Author at $905,000\text{ l.}$ Difference in Money $687,800\text{ l.}$ in point of Time, but nineteen of twenty five Years.

I come

I come now to the next Article, *viz.* To complete his present Majesty's Civil List to 800,000 l. per Ann. stated at 100,000 l. per Ann. I will begin my Observations upon this Head, in a manner, that seems to bear some Resemblance to what concluded the last Article. This Annual Sum of 100,000 l. which is ranged among those that are said to have been taken from the Sinking Fund, is immediately valued at twenty five Years Purchase, which at first Sight makes 2,500,000 l. part of the Memorable 12,390,000 l. What common Reader, (and it is for the unthinking, unexamining Readers, that these gross Sums are stated in this glaring Light) would not conclude, when the Description through the whole Book of these Sums, is, *Sums that have been taken from the Sinking Fund*; What common Reader, I say, or even great Numbers of Persons, of no low Rank or Station in the World, who are not conversant in these things, would not immediately conclude, that the Loss to the Sinking Fund, in favour of his present Majesty's Civil List, amounted to 2,500,000 l? whereas the Sum that has been actually taken, cannot exceed 650,000 l. *viz.* 100,000 l. per Ann. for six Years and a half from Midsummer 1727, the beginning of his present Majesty's Reign, to Christmas 1733, the Time stated in the Book.

I do admit, that this arises from a Valuation only, but it is the want of Candour that I here complain of, and the artful and malicious Disguise that this Fact is represented in, to strike the Minds of unwary People, with an Apprehension, that the Publick was here deprived of the Benefit of so great a Sum, for the Profit and Advantage of the Crown, and this, I must say, is the Spirit, that runs through this whole Libel.

But it is fit, that the World should be informed how this matter stands: Some Pages before, when the first mention is made of his present p. 17. Majesty's Civil List, it is said, "The " whole Produce of *all the old Civil List* " *Revenues*, with the Additional 120,000 *l.* per " *Ann.* out of the *Sinking Fund* was settled on his " present Majesty to make up 800,000 *l.* per " *Ann.*" And in the same Paragraph, speaking of the Surplus of the late King's Civil List Revenues (although to another Purpose too trivial for a particular Consideration) it is said, " It is certain " that this Surplus arises wholly from the Addition made to the *Civil List Revenues out of the Sinking Fund*.

The plain sense of all which is, that the Annual Sum, which was paid out of the Aggregate Fund to his late Majesty, and which is since continued to his present Majesty, without being accountable for any Surplus arising from the whole Revenues granted to his Majesty, is the Sum that is suppos'd to be wrongfully taken from the *Sinking Fund*, and given to the *Civil List*.

It must be remember'd that upon his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, there was such an Unanimity shewn in Parliament upon settling his Civil List Revenues, as was scarce ever seen before or since. The Experience of former times and former Reigns, had convinced every body, that the former Provisions were not sufficient to answer the necessary Expences of the Civil Government. The Debts that had been contracted in former Reigns, the disagreeable Necessity that the Crown had been under to have frequent recourse to Parliament to supply those Deficiencies, and the Debts that had been still left at the end of the three preceding Reigns, were such prevailing Arguments,

Arguments, as convinced all Mankind of the necessity of making an Alteration so far, upon the settling his present Majesty's Civil List, as to leave the old Civil List Revenues, (subject to their several Incumbrances) together with the last Addition that was made to them, free and clear to his present Majesty, discharged from the Account of the Surplusage, which it was intended should altogether make at least 800,000*l.* *per Ann.*

It is now to be considered how the Annual Sum of 120,000*l.* that is now paid as part of the Civil List Revenues, came first to be settled and established in that manner.

In the first short Session of Parliament, upon the immediate happy Accession of the late King, the first Act of Parliament pass'd for making the general provision for the Support of his Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown. In the next Session (of the same year) this matter came to be more maturely consider'd, and it was then thought that a Revenue of 700,000*l.* *per Ann.* in clear money, was necessary, and might be sufficient for that purpose; and as it was possible that the old Civil List Revenues, incumbered as they then were, might fall short of this Produce, the Aggregate Fund, which was a Collection of several Duties and Revenues then existing, and a new appropriated to the proper Funds, was, among other uses, expressly establish'd to pay this 120,000*l.* *per Ann.* and as such an Addition might possibly make an Exceeding upon the whole Sum of 700,000*l.* the 120,000*l.* *per Ann.* was at all Events to be paid Quarterly, and the Surplus, if any, to be computed upon the old Civil List Revenues, which always was the practice.

But as here it is plain, that there was a new Branch added to the Civil List Revenues, and as

this did arise in the Reigns of his late and present Majesty, the Period of Time which this Libel particularly labours to blacken, and load with these sorts of Reproaches, it may not be improper to inform the World in what State and Condition the old Civil List Revenues stood at the Accession of this present Royal Family.

The Hereditary Excise was charg'd with 3,700*l.* per Week, amounting to 192,400*l.* per Ann. as a Fund for raising a large Sum of Money, for carrying on the first War against France.

The same Hereditary Revenue was charged with an Annuity of 35,000*l.* per Ann. as a Fund for raising 500,000*l.* to discharge the Debts of the Civil List of Queen Anne. The Revenues of the First Fruits and Tents (subject to several Pensions) amounting to about 13,000*l.* per Ann. were granted away from the Crown by Queen Anne. And there was a Publick Fund of 700*l.* a Week, amounting to 36,400*l.* per Ann. charg'd upon the Post-Office. All these Charges (besides the Pensions of the King's Predecessors so often mentioned) did amount to 276,800*l.* per Ann. and were payable out of the old Civil List Revenues.

The use that I would make of this is, to show, since so much Industry is used to distinguish between the Interest of the Crown in the Civil List Revenues, and the Interest of the People in the Publick Funds, and so much Art and Pains are taken to represent this odious distinction in the most invidious Lights, (a most detestable Principle and Practice!) that, if the Ballance is stated, there will be no such reason to wonder, that the Parliament at the Demise of Queen Anne, thought proper to make a provision to supply, out of one Publick Fund, the several Charges that affected the old Civil List Revenues, for the Benefit of the Publick.

But

But when this 120,000*l.* per *Ann.* is said to be taken out of the *Sinking Fund*, I absolutely deny it, for the *Sinking Fund* is intitled to the Surplusses only of the *Aggregate Fund*.

But no Surplus is to be computed, until all the Appropriations are fully answered and satisfied. The *Aggregate Fund* was established in the first of the late King; One of the Original Charges upon the *Aggregate Fund* was, the payment of this Annuity to the Civil List. The *Sinking Fund* was established in the third year of the late King, and consisted of Surplusses only. How then can a prior Charge upon the *Aggregate Fund* be called part of the Surplus or Excess of all payments charged upon it?

But if the King's Civil List had not been discharg'd of the Surplus Account, then 100,000*l.* more, as the Surplus of the Civil List Revenues, would have gone to the *Sinking Fund*.

This brings this Dispute to a short Question, Whether the leaving to the Crown the Management of the Civil List Revenues, without Account, to prevent new Debts and new Demands, as had been practised, was a wise and a reasonable Provision?

And here, I hope, for his own sake, that the Author of this Libel was not a Member of that Parliament; for, except one Person, I know nobody that remarkably enough distinguished himself at that time by a negative, to be excusable in acting this part at this time.

I have been told by experienc'd Members of Parliament, that there never was an occasion when such an Unanimity appeared, as was seen upon settling his present Majesty's Civil List. It was so far from being opposed or objected to, that every body was desirous to testify his sense and conviction,

conviction, from former Experience, of the absolute necessity of making that Provision. Whence then can arise this great and sudden Change? If the Censure and Clamour upon this proceeding arises, and is chiefly propagated by Persons who were zealous and most forward in carrying it through the House, at the time of his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, what can be said, what must be thought? Those that supported it at that time, and continue consistent with themselves, are justified in the Eyes of all the World. But one cannot but pity or despise those, who are now every Day giving the Lie to their own Behaviour, and loudly condemn what they as strenuously approved.

I am in no Secrets, I was in no Secrets with those that I am now disputing with, and I believe those in whose Defence I am now writing, were as little in the confidence of their Competitors, and seemingly triumphant Opponents, as they are now, and therefore cannot be charg'd with betraying any Secrets, that they were intrusted with. But how the Report got Air, and how impossible it was, that it should not, if several Members were tried, to see if they would come into such a Proposition, I am not answerable. But I have been told, and it was at that time believed, that there was a Proposal to discharge the Civil List Payments of the 6*d. per l.* which is the Fund for raising 30,000*l. per Ann.* the Annuity payable for the Million charged on the Civil List Revenues, and to charge it upon the Sinking Fund. If this be true, I hope no body was concerned in this Transaction, that is now raking together all the most forc'd, distant, and groundless Insinuations that can be heaped together, to create uneasiness and discontent in the minds of the People, for the sup-

pos'd Partiality, that has been shew'd to the Civil List, in prejudice of the Publick.

I come now to the third and last Article, of the Sums, said to have been taken from the *Sinking Fund*, in favour of the Civil List, viz. *The Remainder of her late Majesty's Civil List Lottery in the year 1713*, stated at 16,400*l. per Ann.* by estimation at twenty five years Purchase valued at 410,000*l.* If this has been wrongfully done, it is a Crime, for it was done and directed by the Officers of the Revenue, without having recourse to Parliament for their Sense and Declaration thereupon.

But as my Undertaking swells unavoidably to too great a Bulk, I will only observe, that the Commissioners of the Treasury, when this Question did arise, not, as I am inform'd, from the least doubt they had in themselves upon the Question, but for the greater satisfaction and security of the Officers of the Exchequer, did order that a State of the Case should be drawn up, and sent to his Majesty's Council Learned in the Law, for their Opinion ; of which, having obtained a Copy, I will insert it, and rest this Question here.

“ To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

“ May it please your Lordships,

“ IN Obedience to your Lordship's Commands,
“ I signified to us by Mr. Scrope, referring to
“ us the annexed State of a Case, concerning such
“ part of the Fund of 35,000*l. per Ann.* granted
“ for the Civil List Lottery in 1713, as hath
“ been

" been since discharg'd, by the Produce of the
 " said Fund, and directing us to consider the
 " same, together with the Letters Patent, and
 " Acts of Parliament relating to the said 35,000*l.*
 " *per Ann.* and to report our Opinion to your
 " Lordships, what Directions are proper to give
 " to the Officers of the Receipt of the Exche-
 " quer, concerning the said Fund, from the
 " time the Principal and Interest, on the said Lot-
 " tery Orders, which were not subscribed into
 " the South-Sea Company, were paid off and dis-
 " charged; and whether it be necessary to continue
 " the setting apart such part of the said Fund, as
 " hath been discharg'd and paid off, by the pro-
 " duce of the Fund it self.

" We have considered the said State of the
 " Case, and also the said Letters Patent and
 " Acts of Parliament, and it appearing to us
 " that 464,990*l.* part of the Debt charg'd on
 " the said Fund of 35,000*l. per Ann.* was sub-
 " scribed into the South-Sea Company, whereby
 " that Corporation became intitled to an Annuity
 " of 18,599*l. 12s.* part of the said Fund of
 " 35,000*l. per Ann.* and that the remaining
 " Principal, which was not subscrib'd, being
 " 98,310*l.* hath, together with all Interest ac-
 " crued thereupon, been since discharged, by the
 " residue of the said 35,000*l. per Ann.* being
 " 16,400*l. 8s. per Ann.* we apprehend, that the
 " Question proposed to us, whether it be ne-
 " cessary to continue the setting apart the said
 " 16,400*l. 8s. per Ann.* from the time the
 " said 98,310*l.* and Interest was fully paid off,
 " will depend upon the determination of the
 " Right to the said 16,400*l. 8s. per Ann. viz.*
 " Whether, since that time, his Majesty hath
 " been intitled to receive the same to his own
 " Use,

“ Use, as part of his Civil List Revenues? For
 “ if his Majesty be so intitled, then there can be
 “ no reason for separating the same, from the
 “ rest of his Civil List Revenues. But if there be
 “ any other Right thereto subsisting, then in con-
 “ sequence of such Right, the separation of it
 “ from the rest of his Civil List Revenues, ought
 “ to be continued.

“ In Order to determine the Question of Right,
 “ it is necessary to consider the original Creation
 “ of this Fund, and the several Alterations it hath
 “ undergone.

“ By the Act 12 Anne and the Letters Patent passed
 “ pursuant thereto, the Fund of 35,000 *l. per Ann.*
 “ was charged upon the Hereditary Civil List Re-
 “ venues, for a Term of thirty two Years, and upon
 “ the Temporary Civil List Revenues, for the like
 “ Term, determinable on her said late Majesty’s
 “ Demise, as a Security only for the payment of
 “ 500,000 *l.* and Interest, according to the Pro-
 “ viso contained in the said Letters Patent. And
 “ therefore, as it stood upon that Act, if either
 “ the Term had expired, or the 500,000 *l.* and
 “ Interest had been paid off, before the End of
 “ the Term, the 35,000 *l. per Ann.* would there-
 “ upon have sunk into the Civil List Revenues,
 “ and ought no longer to have been separated
 “ from the same.

“ By the Act of the 1st Geo. I. Cap. 1. the said
 “ yearly Sum of 35,000 *l.* is continued a Charge
 “ upon his late Majesty’s Hereditary and Tem-
 “ porary Revenues respectively, in like manner,
 “ and for the same Uses and Purposes, as are di-
 “ rected by the said former Act, and Letters
 “ Patent; and consequently was subject to the
 “ like Determination.

" The Act of the 1 Geo. I. Cap. 12. doth
 " not take any particular notice of the Sum of
 " 35,000 *l.* per *Ann.* but in general, makes the
 " Surplus of the Civil List Revenues over and
 " above the clear yearly Sum of 700,000 *l.*
 " (including the Sum of 120,000 *l.* per *Ann.* there-
 " by granted) to be part of the General or Aggre-
 " gate Fund, during the Life of his late Ma-
 " jesty.

" By the Act of 6. Geo. I, commonly called
 " the *South-Sea Act*, Power is given to the *South-*
 " *Sea Company*, to take in this Debt, (amongst
 " others) by Subscription or otherwise, and it is
 " provided that the Company shall have an Ad-
 " dition to their Capital, and an Annuity or In-
 " terest attendant thereupon, in proportion to so
 " much of the Publick Debts as they should
 " take in, subject to Redemption by Parliament.
 " And in Regard that this Annual Sum of 35,000 *l.*
 " as well as several other Funds, upon which the
 " Debts intended to be taken in by the *South-Sea*
 " Company then stood charged, were Tempo-
 " rary, and if they had remained in that State,
 " could not have been made a proper Security for
 " an Annuity which by possibility might continue
 " for ever: Therefore this annual Sum of 35,000 *l.*
 " is (amongst other Funds) made perpetual by
 " the said *A&t*, and so much thereof, as is pro-
 " portional to such Part of the Principal Debt,
 " secured by the said 35,000 *l.* per *Ann.* as they
 " should take in, is directed to be separated and
 " kept apart for their Use. The Residue of the
 " 35,000 *l.* per *Ann.* according to the general Pro-
 " vision of that *A&t*, is to continue payable to
 " the Creditors, whose Debts should not be taken
 " in by the *South-Sea Company* at such Times, and
 " in such Manner, as before the passing of the
 " said

“ said Act. But that Act makes no Appropriation of such Residue after those Creditors should be paid off, nor gives any Direction touching the setting the same apart ; nor do we find, that any Appropriation hath been made thereof, by any Act of Parliament precedent to the Civil List Act of the 1st Year of his present Majesty’s Reign.

“ By this Act, instead of an Annual Sum of 700,000*l.* which was granted to his Majesty’s Royal Father, the Funds and Revenues themselves, upon which the 35,000*l. per Ann.* was charged, are appropriated to the Use of his Majesty’s Civil Government, with the Exceptions and Charges therein mentioned ; whereby his present Majesty is become intitled to the whole Income and Produce of those Revenues, whether certain or contingent, subject to the said Exceptions and Charges, which we apprehend to amount only to the excepting and saving of the Rights and Interests of particular Corporations and Persons subsisting at his late Majesty’s Demise.

“ In consequence of this, the Right of the South Sea Company to 18,599*l. 12 s. per Ann.* part of the said Annual Sum of 35,000*l.* is saved : And the Right of the Proprietors of the unsubscribed part of this Debt to the 16,400*l. 8 s. per Ann.* residue of the said Annual Sum of 35,000*l.* till satisfaction of their Debt, is also saved. But such unsubscribed part of this Debt, having been since discharged, out of the 16,400*l. 8 s. per Ann.* we conceive, that the Right of the Proprietors of such unsubscribed part, determined thereupon, and consequently from that time, the 16,400*l. 8 s. per Ann.* sunk into and became part of the said Revenues granted to his

“ present Majesty, and applicable to the Uses of
“ his Civil Government.

“ This being our Opinion concerning the
“ Right to this Sum of 16,400*l.* 8*s.* *per Ann.*
“ We apprehend that it follows from thence, that
“ it is not necessary to continue to set apart the
“ same, from the time the 98,310*l.* and Interest
“ was fully paid off. And that your Lordships
“ may properly give Directions to the Officers of
“ the Receipt of the Exchequer concerning the
“ said Fund accordingly.

“ All which is humbly submitted to your Lord-
“ ship's Judgment.

Jo. CHESHYRE.
P. YORKE.
C. TALBOT.
THO. REEVE.

Dec. 13. 1729.

When I read this Opinion, and the Names at the bottom of it, it would be vain and impertinent for me to presume to make any Observations or Comments upon it. Upon this Opinion, the Lords of the Treasury sent their proper Directions, with the Opinion annexed, to the Exchequer: and until I hear better Reasons, and better Authority than I have yet met with, I think I am very well justified in asserting, that this is another false and groundless Charge upon the Accounts of the Civil List. And I think I have now clear'd two Kings, and two Parliaments of entring into a wicked Combination, and feloniously and fraudently taking from the Sinking Fund, the Annual Sum of 495,600*l.* valued at 12,390,000*l.*

I come now to the Gross Sums described in this manner, which are not annual, but have likewise been

been taken at different times from the Sinking Fund ; they are made to amount to 2,971,500*l.*

I will begin with admitting the two Sums, said to be taken for the Debt of the Navy, and for the Service of the Year 1733. For the first, amounting to 290,900*l.* although it does not appear by what way of Computation that very Sum arises, I will pass it by ; and for the latter, it was applied to the Service of the Current Year : And these Sums amounting together but to 790,900*l.* are all the Charges, that with any Colour can be brought to his Account, swelled into 15,361,500*l.* a small Difference of 14,570,600*l.* in so elaborate, accurate, and all-reforming a Piece of Publick Accounts. And this Sum too of 790,900*l.* it has been proved, it was in the Power of the Parliament to apply thus, without any Breach of *Publick Credit*, for of this the Civil List had not one farthing.

There are two small Sums in this Account, which must be just taken notice of ; the first is the Sum of 144,000*l.* *To complete his late Majesty's Civil List to 700,000*l.* per Ann.*

This is a matter upon which I could enlarge much, but being of less consequence, than several others, I will beg leave to be as brief upon it as possible.

It is known his late Majesty's Civil List was established at 700,000*l.* *per Ann.* *in clear Money*, that the Surplus of the Revenues appropriated for this Service, was to be carried to the *Sinking Fund* ; that this Surplus was to be annually computed, which was done at *Michaelmas* annually. The Method fallen into and practised, was in regard to the *Sinking Fund*, that there might not possibly be any loss in that. To secure this, when the Surplus was to be settled, the Account of every Branch must be either made up from the *Neat Produce*,

dace, at that time actually paid into the Exchequer; or by Estimation upon the Duties, which at that time were charged, although not raised and paid. To instance in the Excise, which is the Principal Branch now in question. All the Duties are charged unto, and for the last Day of each half Year, yet the *Net Money* arising from the same, cannot be exactly known, until two Months after, at the soonest; and sometimes longer. After the Duties are charged, time is given by Law, to make their Entries; and after that, further time to pay the Duties to the Collectors, who remit by Bills of Exchange, some not payable till one Month after Date; from which it may reasonably be concluded, that all the Duties charged, cannot be paid into the Exchequer, in less than three Months after the Time that the same are charged. By this Method, it happened unavoidably, that there would be Differences between the Duties charged, and Duties actually paid at the end of each half Year. The King's 700,000*l.* per Ann. being directed by Act of Parliament to be made up *in clear Money*, if the Account had been made up, from the Monies paid into the Exchequer, it had certainly been justifiable; but to avoid all Objections, the Account was made up by estimated Values, by which the *Sinking Fund* had the present and immediate Advantage, having Credit for the whole Values by estimation. But it being found, in process of time, that the *Net Receipt in clear Money*, did not answer the *Estimated Values*, an Account was made up by the proper Officers of the estimated Values, and of the clear Annual Produce, by which it appeared, that the Difference *in nine Years* in the Excise, did amount to about 101,800*l.* less than 700,000*l.* per Ann. *in clear Money*, and in Consequence, the Surplusses had been so much augmented. To make this good, that Sum was replaced to the Civil List Revenues,

Revenues; and an Account of it was laid before the Parliament.

The same thing happening in the Post-Office, and the Difference there between *the Estimated Values*, and *the clear Annual Produce*, within the same time, being found to be about 42,200*l.* that Sum was likewise made good to the Civil List. And these two Sums make the 144,000*l.* said to have been taken from the *Sinking Fund*, when in reality it was no more, than deducting from a Surplus which was to be carried to the *Sinking Fund*, what had unjustly been placed to the Account of the *Sinking Fund*. And this is one of those great *Mistakes* in the Officers of the Revenue, from whence it is inferred, that a stricter Inspection into the Publick Revenues, is become absolutely necessary. But I never before this time knew, that a Difference between *an Estimated Value*, and *the Real Produce* was a Mistake in Figures or in Accounts.

The next Article is, the *Loss* that was sustained in the Revenue of *Hawkers and Pedlars*: And this is described in the most aggravating Stile, and stated at 36,600*l.* This indeed, when considered, appears to be such a *pedling*, trifling matter, that I should content myself to answer it with a Punn, or a Quibble, if this Grand Inquisitor had not been so pompous about it.

It is to be observed, that this was a *Loss* that happen'd from the failure of the Receiver of that Duty, which is here stated as a Sum that had been taken, like others, from the *Sinking Fund*, and diverted to other uses. A most candid Representation! The Fact was, that the Receiver of this Duty, among thousands of other unfortunate Persons, was drawn in,

in, in the fatal South-Sea year, to deal in the Alley. His Losses, in that year, put him under great Difficulties, and various Shifts; till at last he broke, with this Ballance of Publick Money in his hands. And when I have considered this matter, I have been surprized, that the los to the Publick in that general Calamity, appeared to be this single Sum, among all the Receivers and Collectors of publick Duties and Revenues; and I have been told, it is the only Los, except by some Receivers of the Land Tax, (which too have been made good by their Securities) that has appeared within the Time of this Scrutiny. *A remarkable Proof of most unheard-of Negligence in the management of this vast Revenue.* Let any Man compute what proportion 36,600*l.* divided into five parts, which was the Annual Loss to the Publick upon this head, bears to the Millions that are annually received and collected; and tell me, what private Estate of any considerable value is managed and collected with so little loss to the Proprietors. But I have done this Article too much honour; upon which, it had been sufficient to my present purpose to have said, it is a false Representation, to state it in the present Case, as a *Sum taken from the Sinking Fund.* Happy and Fortunate are Those, who are levelled at in this Libel, to see their angry and indefatigable Opponents driven to such low Game as this!

The only remaining Article, is the *Sum given to the South-Sea Company in 1723,* stated at two Millions. The Author was sensible, that every body must startle to see this Sum brought to this Account; and indeed he might just as well, when his hand was in, have taken the five Millions.

lions remitted in the year 1721, or any Sum that he finds named in the Statute Book during the present Administration.

But we presently discover with what view this Sum was mentioned, and it could be only to have an opportunity of naming a Favourite Topic, which some People have lately seem'd very fond of, I mean THE BANK CONTRACT. It is said, " when they consider that " the publick Distresses were sufficiently reliev- " ed, and the publick Clamour sufficiently ap- " peas'd, by the Remission of *five Millions* in " 1721, they will agree that this Sum of *two* " Millions was a Bounty granted, *by way of* " Composition, for their giving up the *Bank* " *Contract* ;" and I am confident, we had ne- ver heard of this two Millions, but for the sake of saying this.

Having undertaken to shew the partial and unfair manner of this Author's proceeding, thro' this whole performance, I must be excus'd, if I make an Observation or two, arising naturally from what is before me, and take this opportunity of saying something of this famous *Bank Contract*, that so much pains have been taken to give the World an ill impression of.

And to shew that it is a most absurd notion, to say this *two Millions* was remitted, *by way of Composition* for the *Bank Contract*, as it is called, (which I will presently prove was no Contract at all) it is proper to state briefly as possible, how the Case of the Remission of the *five Millions*, and the *two Millions* to the South-Sea Company stands.

This was a Sum that the Company was oblig'd, by the sixth of the late King, the memorable *South-Sea Scheme Act*, to pay to the Publick,

lick, for the liberty of taking in the Publick Debts, and for increasing, in proportion, their Capital Stock and yearly Fund.

The profit that was to arise from the execution of this Project, was to go to the Company, in their Corporate Capacity, as appeared at the end of the Year 1720, when the whole Capital amounted to above 37,800,000 *l.* The Stock allotted to all the Proprietors in their several shapes, did not amount to 24,500,000 *l.* the remaining Capital Stock was the profit of the Company, for which, and out of which, the *seven Millions* was to be paid to the Publick.

The next Year, when this execrable Scheme was blown up, when the Calamities and Ruin which attended numberless Families appear'd, the Parliament took Compassion of the unhappy Sufferers, and by Act of Parliament directed several Additions to be made to the Stock of the Proprietors, out of the Stock which the Company at that time possessed in their own Right, and made a particular distribution of Stock, which amounted to above 2,200,000 *l.* and upon remitting *five Millions* of the *seven Millions* that was to be paid to the Publick, annihilated *two Millions* of their Capital, which was insisting upon the payment of *two Millions*; and Enacted, that after the abovesaid Distributions, the remaining Capital Stock should be divided among all the Proprietors, which is known to have come to 33 *l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per Cent. and this took from the Company for the benefit of the Proprietors above 8,900,000 *l.*

It is very well known, that there was then due and owing to the Company, above *eleven Millions*, for Money lent by them on Stock unredeemed, and of this the Parliament discharged

all the Debtors to the Company, upon paying 10*l.* per Cent. which some did comply with, others refused, and it appeared that the Loss to the Company was upon this Article above 6,900,000*l.*

These Proceedings indeed gave some Relief to the unhappy Sufferers, and the Cries and Lamentations of undone Multitudes were less heard in the Streets, but the Wounds still bled, and the Proprietors of the Stock loudly complained of the *two Millions* taken from them by the 7th of the late King; and indeed with Justice, for it was a most absurd Notion, that *the Company should pay to the Publick two Millions, for the liberty of being undone.* This Consideration, and this alone, induced the Parliament to revive the *two Millions*; that had been annihilated; and at the same time directed that it should be distributed among the Proprietors, which was done accordingly; and an Addition of 6*l.* 5*s.* o*d.* was made to every Man's Capital; and this amounted to above 1,955,000*l.* and the Numbers concerned were so many, and the Losses sustained were so great, that it was irresistible.

This is the true Account of the *two Millions*, said to be taken from the *Sinking Fund*, which, it appears to me if had been most unjust, to have obliged the Company to pay.

I will not deal in invidious Insinuations, because Suspicions, altho' plausible, may be unjust, but I will put a Case, where Malice might think there was at least some Foundation for a Surmise.

I must insist, that all that is said upon this Article, was only to cast a Reflection, as if this Remission was made for a Sinister End.

I will now put a Case, where this Author will agree with me, that the Inference is most unjust, but I must say as well grounded as his Inference about the *Bank Contract*.

If we are to suppose, that Men, in their publick Capacities, always act with a View to their private Interest, it will be insisted upon, that when the Interest is greatest, the Byas will be the strongest.

It must be allowed, that the discharging the Debtors to the Company, upon paying 10*l. per Cent.* only, upon a Debt of eleven Millions, was one great Motive for the Remission of the five Millions, that attended it.

But it would be very hard to conclude, that no body was for remitting the five Millions, but for the Advantage he was to receive by paying 10*l. per Cent.* only. And when I saw a Gentleman's Name in that Book of Loans, no ways considerable but for his Relation of Marriage, as a Borrower of 97,576*l. 6 s. 9 d.* and saw that Debt discharged by the Payment only of 10*l. per Cent.* with the pawn'd Stock, whereby the Company lost, and that Gentleman gain'd according to the then Valuation of Stock near 30,000*l.* which he had borrowed and received of the Company's Money ; I at first wonder'd what Consideration could give so private a Person such an immense Credit. But I stopt my self short in that Inquiry ; for there can be no Proof that any body else had a Share of this Loan, or a Dividend of the thirty thousand Pounds that were gained by it ; and yet the strongest Inferences that can be drawn from this Fact, I will venture to say, can better be supported, than the Reflection that is made about the *Bank Contract*.

I confess

I confess it is a digression from the main Scope of my present Busineſs, to enter now into the Consideration of this *Bank Contract*; but it has been made of late ſo much the Subject of Conversation, both in publick and private, and treated as the moſt wicked, and I know not what, of all Publick Transactions, that I thought it would be ſome Satisfaction to the World, to have this Matter ſtated, that Persons that write and talk about it, may know ſomething of the Matter, which indeed I think them very ignorant of. I have procured my Informations from the beſt Authorities, that are now to be had, and I really believe every Word of what I ſhall advance, is ſtrictly true.

I muſt here beg Leave to make Use of the Name of an Honourable Person, Sir *R—W—*: As it is well known, that all that is ſaid, has no meaning but to fix ſome Imputation, or ſomething worse, if it could be done upon him, I think it juſt that it ſhould be known what Share he had in this Transaction, and in what Situation he then was.

This Event happened in the Month of Sept. 1720. It is well known, Sir *R—W—* was then no Minister, was in no Confidence with the Ministry, but was looked upon by them as no Promoter of their darling Scheme, and in-deed had no Credit or Power at Court. He was Paymaster of the Army, and lived the greatest Part of that Summer in the Country, to avoid giving any Offence or Umbrage to thoſe, that had with the *South-Sea Directors*, the Direction and Management of this great Engine of imaginary Credit and Riches.

When

When the first Appearance of the general Distress was seen, the Confusion was inexpressible; and he was sent for up out of the Country, and his Advice and Assistance was demanded, to assist in saving a sinking Nation; and as he was then thought to have some Credit and Influence with the Bank, whose Assistance the South-Sea Projectors still flattered themselves might save their desperate Game; Sir R. W— was desired and importuned, to use his Credit with the Bank, to induce them to agree to a Proposal made by the *South-Sea Company*, for circulating a Number of their Bonds.

It must here be remember'd, that nothing of this kind arose from the Bank, or was at their Motion; and I have been told, that nothing, but an Apprehension of the Resentment of the People, which they were loudly threaten'd with, could have prevailed upon the Bank, to have treated at all with the *South-Sea Company*, and to involve themselves in their Calamities.

But the Clamour was irresistible, and the Bank, out of Necessity, hearken'd to the Proposals of the *South-Sea Company*, for from them every Step and Motion proceeded.

The first Expedient was for the Bank to circulate Bonds of the *South-Sea Company* to a certain Value, for a Time to be agreed upon; and a Proposal to this Effect was, on the 16th of September, 1720, sent to the Bank by the Sub and Deputy Governors of the *South-Sea Company*.

This not being relish'd immediately, It was proposed, that there should be a Meeting of a Committee, consisting of five of each Company, at the Post-Master-General's House, where were likewise present, Lord President, Mr. Secretary

cretary *C*—, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,
Mr. *W*— Mr. *C*— Post-Master-General.
This Meeting was on the 19th of September,
1720, three Days after the Proposal *.

I have been told, that this Conference lasted
for many Hours, with great Reluctance on the
part of the Bank, but press'd with so much
Eagerness and Authority on the other Side, that
the Bank was prevailed upon to yield.

It was then thought proper, before they parted,
that something should be reduced into Writing,
as a Minute of the Substance of what had been
under Consideration, and to serve as a Founda-
tion of a future Agreement or Contract, to be
made between the two Companies.

I have been told, there was some little Dispute,
who should write down, or draw the Minute;
but it being the general Desire of the Company,
that Mr. *W*— should do it, in the Presence of
the

* September 19, 1720.

P R E S E N T,

Lord President.

Mr. Secretary Craggs.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Robert Walpole, Esq;

Mr. Craggs, Post-Master-General.

Sir *John Fellows*, Sub-Governor of the South-Sea Com-
pany.

Charles Joye, Deputy-Governor.

Sir Theodore Jansen.

Mr. Gore.

Mr. Chester.

Mr. Hanger, Governor of the Bank.

Sir John Ward..

Sir Gilbert Heathcote.

Sir Peter Delme.

Sir Nathaniel Gould.

the whole Meeting, he put down in Writing, what has ever since been call'd, *The Bank Contract*; little dreaming, that he was then drawing an Article of Impeachment against himself, or that he was to be made responsible for any *South-Sea Transaction of the Year 1720.*

The Minute, commonly called *The Bank Contract*, which was in Mr. W—'s Hand Writing, was in the Words following; " That
 " the Bank of *England* shall undertake to circulate three Millions of *South-Sea Bonds* for
 " one Year, at a Premium to be agreed upon by the two Companies; a Subscription to
 " be taken, for enabling the Bank to carry
 " on the Circulation, — per Cent. to be paid
 " down by every Subscriber, and — per
 " Cent. upon every Call, at a Fortnight's Notice; The Contract with the Subscribers, to
 " be made in the Nature and Form with former
 " Contracts for circulating Exchequer Bills,
 " and the Charges of Circulation to be born by
 " the *South-Sea Company*.

" That in consideration of this Undertaking, the *South-Sea Company* shall pay the
 " 3,700,000*l.* to be paid to the Bank by Notice of Parliament, in the *South-Sea Stock*,
 " at a Price to be agreed on betwixt the two
 " Companies."

There were two other Paragraphs wrote down at the same time, but both cross'd out and erazed before the Meeting broke up, but not at all relating to this Question.

This is all that was wrote by Sir R. W—, at this or any other time, relating to this Affair, and I have been assur'd, in the future Meetings upon this Busines, he was never once present.

This

This Paper, that is call'd *The Bank Contract*, has no Stile, Title, or Preamble to it, signifying what it imports; it is neither an Agreement, or Contract, or Articles of Agreement: The essential part, viz. the Premium for circulating, and what was to be paid down for the Circulation, is left Blank; and the most material part of the whole, which is, at what Price the Bank was to take the South-Sea Stock for 3,700,000*l.* was referr'd to a subsequent Agreement, to be made betwixt the two Companies. I beg then any Man will tell me, in what sense, this is to be call'd a *Contract*, or any thing more than the first, rough Draught, or Sketch of a future *Agreement*, that was to be made; void of all Form, or any manner of Obligation.

But now I am about it, that the History of this whole Affair may be seen together, which I believe was never before done, I will go thro' the whole, as far as I have been able to get any Information about it.

On the 23d of September, 1720, at a Meeting of a Committee of the Directors of the two Companies; "A Proposal was made by one of the Directors of the South-Sea Company, That the 3,700,000*l.* should be subscrib'd by the Bank, into the Stock of the South-Sea Company, for which the Bank was to have such Shares as the Funds would produce, the Stock being valued at 400*l.* per Cent." &c.

On the 24th of September, at a Court of Directors of the Bank, upon a Report made of the last Proposal, made by the South-Sea Company, it was agreed to by the Court of Directors of the Bank.

This Agreement was the same Day communicated, by a Director of the Bank, to the Court of Directors of the South-Sea Company.

On the 10th of Nov. following, the Governor of the Bank reported from the Committee appointed

to treat with the S. Sea Company, that the Transactions between the Bank and the said Company, had been laid before Council, on behalf of the Bank; and that the said Company pressing for an Answer of what had been done therein, the Governor of the Bank had acquainted the Deputy-Governor of the South-Sea Company, that the said Committee did not think fit for the present to proceed further in that Affair, and had delivered to him in Writing the following Answer.

“ When the Proposition was offered by the
“ Lords, at the Meeting of the Committees of
“ both Companies, as a suitable Expedient, for
“ the Support of Publick Credit, the Court of
“ Directors of the Bank shew’d their Readiness
“ to join in any Measures, that might tend to
“ the Service of the Publick.

“ But some Difficulties appearing to the Committee of the Bank, they have consulted with their Council, and they are advis’d, that considering the Nature of this Transaction, it will not be safe for them to proceed upon the said Proposition, without Consent of Parliament.

“ However, they think it reasonable, that in the mean time, the Committee of the South-Sea should give the Committee of the Bank some Account of their Estate, for the Satisfaction of their Principals.”

On Nov. the 18th, the following Paper was sent to the Bank, from the Lords of the Treasury. “ My Lords desire, that the Difficulties; which have arisen, (and upon which, they say, they have consulted their own Council) concerning the late Agreement between them and the South-Sea Company, may be put into Writing, and deliver’d to their Lordships, as soon as possible, that their Lordships may receive the Opinion of the King’s Council.”

To

To which the following Answer was given,
 " The Court of Directors of the Bank, have,
 " with the utmost Dm>erit, consider'd the
 " Message in Writing, which your Lordships
 " were pleased to send to them ; and they hum-
 " bly apprehend, they cannot better explain
 " themselves, than they have already done, in
 " the Manner they have given to the South-Sea
 " Company, a Copy whereof was delivered to
 " your Lordships, which contains the Substance
 " of what they consulted with their Council
 " thereupon."

Here the Treasury takes the Affair into their Hands: Remember Mr. W— was not of that Treasury, nor any Adviser, or Confident in their Measures; and this is all that appears of the Transactions, between the two Companies, as far they have come to my Knowledge.

The Substance of all which is, that in the Day of Distress, the Bank was thought the only Resource, to save and support the Sinking State of the *South Sea Company*. Every body, that was thought capable of giving any Assistance, was called in; at the first Conference Mr. W— assisted, and the Bank was persuaded to undertake what was proposed to them: The first Part of the Proposition, and, indeed, the Original Proposal, upon which the first Conference was held, was dropt by the *South-Sea Company*, for we hear no more of Circulating their Bonds; the last Article, of taking *South-Sea Stock* at 400*l. per Cent.* is carried on, and accepted by a Committee of the Bank; and this Example, I presume, it was hoped, by the Managers of the *South-Sea Affairs*, would fix the Price of *South-Sea Stock* at that Rate; but the daily Fall, and declining State of the Stock, in a few Weeks convinc'd Mankind, that this Expedient would not answer:

The Ebb of this swoln fluctuating Credit return'd with greater Violence than it flow'd, and carried every thing before it, with that Precipitation, that the Bank was not able to stem the Tide, without exposing the Properties of their own Principals, and Adventurers, to be carried away, sunk, and lost in the common Deluge; they therefore wisely kept themselves out of the general Inundation, and did not care to be drown'd with thos that they could not save. In a few Words, the Bank was prevail'd upon to consent to what they prov'd not able to perform, and which they were under no Obligation to perform: The South-Sea Company had no Power to compel them, and so the Matter finally dropt. What Consequence happened to private Persons, from this Proceeding, no Man can answer. But as it has been suggested, that the Authors and Promoters of this Proceeding, carried it on with a Design, to take the Advantage of the first Rumour of this suppos'd Agreement, between the two Companies, and thereby drew in unwary Persons, who desirous to retrieve their present Losses, were induced to buy Stock, at the Price that the Bank had agreed to take it, I desire it may be fairly consider'd, where this Guilt is most probably and reasonably to be fix'd, whether upon the South-Sea Partizans, who projected, proposed, and almost compelled the Consent of the Bank; or upon the Bank, and the Friends of the Bank, backward in every Step, and declining from the beginning to the end, to be concerned. If Reflections, Surmises, and Insinuations are to take place, I will be bold to say, Those that had engaged, countenanced, and run into every Part of the South-Sea Scheme, and were consequently at this time deeply involved, are more justly to be suspected to have contrived and

and promoted this Transaction, and to have taken the first Advantage of it ; than those that opposed and discountenanced the whole, and are known, so entirely to have avoided any Gaming Traffick, through the whole Course of this Proceeding, that they did not want Resources, to heal themselves, and retrieve their Losses, at the Expence of ignorant deluded People, who had been made a Prey to the insatiable Avarice of Stock-Jobbers, great and small, known in the Alley at that time, and ever since, among that sort of Men whom this Author styles, *The Harpies of Exchange-Alley* ; and I can make no doubt but that the whole Cry and Clamour about the *Bank Contract*, has arisen from the *Biter's being bit*. And I leave it now to the Consideration of those, who have been so happy with *this Rod in Piss*, to make the best Use they can of it ; let them write, speak, and protest, and treasure up this Grand Accusation, to the long look'd-for Day of Vengeance, it would be ill-natur'd to grudge them the Pleasure of amusing themselves with a Prospect, that seems to me very remote.

But to return to my Subject ; how this Author could think of bringing these *two Millions* into this Account, would be unaccountable, if his Fondness for this *Bank Contract*, had not transported him beyond the Rules of common Sense ; and whatever shall be said, or thought of the *Bank Contract*, it was very foreign to this Purpose ; but what I undertook is most evident, that the *two Millions* were not taken from the *Sinking Fund*, in the Manner that is represented, and contended for in this Libel ; and in consequence of what I have fully prov'd on this Head, the Gross Sum of 15,361,500 l. made up, by a Valuation of the Annual Sums, said to be taken from the *Sinking Fund*, with the particular Sums, not being Annual, added to them, is to be intirely

tirely laid aside, as an imaginary Abuse, tending only to deceive and terrify People, not conver-fant, or not capable to judge of these Matters, and who must naturally conclude, that such Re-presentations could not possibly be made, without some Foundation of Truth or Candor.

Before I intirely quit the Subject of *these Millions*, I must here observe another Use, that is attempted to Be made, of the same Sums, by being put into another Light, which is, where the Author by accumulating the very same Sums, or the greatest Part of them in another Shape, makes himself very happy, with another Grand Total, amounting to 23,738,600*l.* which is the Result of his Calculations to show, *what Progress this Money would have made, in lessening the Publick Debt, in Case it had been applied to that Service.*

Whoever will run over all the Particulars of this Account, (except the last Article) amount-ing to 5,464,700*l.* will find they are made up of the same Articles, which I have already spent so much time in proving that they never did be-long to the Sinking Fund, or were not unjustly taken from it, and in consequence the Use that is here made of them falls to the Ground at once.

The principal Article here is the last, and no less a Sum than 18,273,900*l.* After what has been seen and said already upon this Subject, I cease to wonder at any thing that I meet in this Book; but let us see, from whence this great Sum arises; it is stated in these Words; *The An-nual Sum of 1,202,000*l.* which according to the aforementioned Estimate might have been saved to the Publick, this Sum from Christmas 1721, at 5*l.* per Cent. and from thence to Christmas 1733, at 4*l.* per Cent. would have paid off a Debt of 18,273,900*l.** I sup-

I suppose it is meant, from *Christmas 1721*, to *Christmas 1727*, at 5*l.* per Cent. and from thence to 1733.

But where is this Annual Sum of 1,202,000*l.* to be found, which was to be thus applied? I am afraid no where but in the warm Head, and lively Imagination of this Author.

In Page 32, he asserts, *That whoever will give himself the trouble to collect and compare the several Estimates on these Heads, which have been delivered into Parliament, since the Union, will find, that about 1,025,900*l.* per Ann. will support all these Services, if we add to it a little frugal Management, in correcting the Estimates, and in reforming Abuses.* He has before stated the Annual Expence of 12 Years, at a Medium of 2,227,900*l.* per Ann. and if the Annual Expence, according to his Assertion, could have been supported at 1,025,900*l.* per Ann. what is the Inference? What can it be, but that the Difference of 1,202,000*l.* might have been sav'd, that is, not rais'd upon the People? He says himself, *My Zeal has never induc'd me, in Imitation of some others, to propose any new Tax for the Augmentation of the Sinking Fund, in order to hasten the Payment of it;* and in another Place, where he had made the Extraordinary Expences in 12 Years, to amount to above 14,400,000*l.* he says, *which is a greater Sum than has been rais'd upon Land, within the same time; and every Man who has a real Concern for the larded Interest, must heartily wish, that this Expence had been sav'd to the Country Gentlemen.* How are these Contradictions to be reconciled? These 14,000,000*l.* which were in his Opinion unnecessary Expences, and therefore ought not to have been raised, but sav'd to the Country Gentlemen; they are, by adding Interest to the Principal, run up into above 18 Millions, and being added to the 5,464,700*l.* last above-mentioned

mentioned it is said, *If the frugal Measures before-mentioned, had been pursued, there might have been paid off by these Savings at Christmas 1733, near 24 Millions more than have been;* which is in other Words to say, if we had expended 1,200,000*l.* per Ann. less, than was judg'd absolutely necessary by the Legislature for the Support of the Government, and yet had every Year rais'd that Sum unnecessarily upon the People, and applied it towards the discharging the National Debt; the National Debt would, in 12 Years, have been 14,400,000*l.* less, and with the Interest, as much more as that amounts to.

I am mispending my time, when I am exposing this Gross Fact from the Self-Contradictions of the Author: The great Crime of these wicked 12 Years, has been in applying what is call'd the *Sinking Fund*, in ease of the current Service: If these Sums, which in the same Account are computed at 5,464,700*l.* had not gone in Aid of the current Service, where must that Burthen have fallen, or where, in Fact, has the Ease been given, but to the Landed Interest? When our Author speaks to the Proprietors of the Publick Funds, he cries out upon the Injustice done to them, by robbing them of what was their due, in Favour and in Ease of the Landed Interest; when he speaks to the Landed Interest, the whole Saving, upon his suppos'd Extraordinaries, was to have been a Saving to the *Country Gentlemen*: If, therefore, neither the Funds, that have been made use of, nor the Land Tax, was to have been applied to the current Service, How was the Service of the Nation to have been carried on? But to conclude this Article, it is a most absurd Notion to say, that if the Annual Expences had been a Million a Year less, that so many Millions more of the National Debt would have been paid off; for no Man can think that the Annual Supplies

Supplies would have exceeded the Annual Services voted by Parliament; and by the late Practice of reducing the Land Tax to a lower Rate than was formerly even hop'd for, it is most probable, that the Parliament would have made use of those Funds, which they very rightly judg'd were in the Power of the Publick, in the manner they have done, and consequently the National Debt could no way, in this Scheme, haye been lessen'd, but by raising new Taxes upon the People, for that purpose, which our Author abhors the Thought of.

I must add one Word more, that the Foundation of this whole Account is most inconceivable, that any Person should think of affirming, that about 1,000,000*l.* per Ann. would have been sufficient to support the current Service of the Year; and to talk of collecting and comparing the several Estimates that have been laid before Parliament, and to make this Conclusion from them, is most astonishing. I have run over the Accounts of all the Supplies that have been granted Annually, from the Revolution to this Time, and there are but two Years in 45, (and in those Years they amounted to near a Million and an half) where the Annual Supplies have not been above double the Sum, that is here asserted to be found sufficient, from collecting and comparing the several Estimates that have been laid before Parliament, till we come to the Year 1723, when for two Years together they were between 4 and 500,000*l.* less than they are stated at by his Medium of 12 Years; a most unfair Way of stating these Sorts of Accounts, because the Years must differ from one another, according to the Circumstances of Times and Affairs: I mention but two Years, because this great Accomptant will find, in these Annual Sums, upon Examination, a very gross Mistake to his own Prejudice: With what Conscience and Face

then, can any Man hope to pass such gross Fal-sities upon the World, and to build upon them such severe and groundless Reflections; for it must be observ'd, that upon the suppos'd Suffi-cency of ,025,000*l.* per Ann. for the current Service, his whole 18 Millions must stand and fall. But I believe, there is no Man, however affected, that will support this Assertion, unless he will at once confess, that he wishes to see this Nation in so weak and defenceless a Condi-tion, as to be at the Mercy of every Invader. At the latter End of the late Queen's Reign, when every Body trembled at the Measures of those Days, as having but one Tendency, they never went this Length; and one would think, this could come from no body but *that great Author and Promoter* of all the Sedition and Con-fusion that now reigns in this Nation, (*whom Vengeance will overtake, if ever there arises a British Spirit in a British Parliament*) who seems, if we may judge by this and some other very extraor-dinary Instances, to have infected some who think they differ widely from him, and to have drawn them insensibly into propagating and ad-vancing such Notions as they would be thought to abhor, and which himself only can be served by.

I come now to another Article, viz. *The fur-ther additional Grants to the Civil List, under the name of Votes of Credit;* and in another Place, *Votes of Credit which may be very justly esteem'd Supplies of the same Kind,* (meaning additional Grants to the Civil List) *under a different Name.*

I will not enter into the particular Sums and Occasions which are complain'd of; because to run into an Inquisition of the Circumstances of Time and Affairs, and the particular Causes and
Uses

Uses for which these Sums have been demanded by the Crown, would add too much to the Tediumness which I have already been unavoidably carried into. I admit, the Practice was made use of in the Years 1726, 1727, and 1728: The Parliament thought it necessary, and I must, for the present, leave it to the Recollection of every body that was present at those Debates, to remember how far the particular Occasions were justified, and supported, and will proceed to consider the thing itself, how far it is precedented by like Cases, and how far it may reasonably, and even necessarily be resorted to, with great Prudence, and to the Advantage of the Nation.

In the first Place, what is call'd *Votes of Credit*, is very wrongfully so call'd. *Votes of Credit*, are things not new or unknown in Parliament, but of a very different Nature, from what is now under Consideration.

In the first War of King William, *Votes of Credit* were frequent; and when at the beginning of a Session, Money was wanting, for providing for the Services of the next Year, before the Supplies were granted, or any Money Bills could pass, the House of Commons came to *Votes and Resolutions*, that gave the Crown a Power to borrow any Money, to a certain Sum, and at a certain Rate, to be repaid, out of the first Supplies to be granted that Session: These were properly *Votes of Credit*, upon which Money was advanc'd, before the Supplies were granted, or rais'd by Act of Parliament.

But what is now in question, is not a Power given to borrow, or raise Money, by a *Vote*, or Resolution of the House of Commons, but a Power given, by Authority of the Legislature, and by Act of Parliament, to apply or dispose of some part of the Supplies, rais'd by Law, to

particular Uses, or Services, not specified in the Estimates, or Resolutions of Supplies, at the Discretion of the Crown, upon future Emergencies, or such Services, as by the Nature of them, cannot properly, or without the Danger of rendering them ineffectual, be explain'd, or laid before a House of Commons.

And the Complaint and Grievance is, that no Publick Account is render'd of these Sums, thus expended, either previous to the Power given, or subsequent to it ; and this indeed is the only Objection that has any Weight ; but it must at the same time be remember'd, that at the time of asking, and granting *this Power* in Parliament, it is understood, that a particular Account is not to be certainly expected, and probably cannot be given ; and this Practice is what I am to explain and justify.

But before I proceed, I must complain, loudly complain, of the Description of these *Votes of Credit*, which to avoid Confusion, I must now consider under that Denomination, when they are call'd, *Additional Grants to the Civil List*, and it is said, *they may very justly be esteem'd Supplies of the same kind under a different Name*.

If this was true, or could be suppos'd to be true, I confess the Practice would be most blameable ; but if it is not true, and there is not the least Pretence to suppose it true, this Representation is most abominable.

For what can be a more just Cause of Complaint, than, under the specious Pretence of Publick and National Considerations, under a Colour of Foreign Demands and Services, to answer Purposes of the greatest Importance, which from the Nature of them must be conceal'd, and yet at that Conjunction ought not to be neglected ; I say, what can be a greater Crime, than

to take Advantage of the good Dispositions of a Parliament, and by such base, mean, and unworthy Tricks and Delusions, to extort Money from the People, for the private Advantage and Profit of the Crown, or for the Benefit of any Minister, or Ministers.

If the last is meant, it is more pardonable ; and if there is the least Shadow, even of Suspicion, that any such Use has been made of *this Power* ; as much Good-will as I bear to the Honourable Person, in whose Defence, in a great measure, I am now engag'd, and as much Ill-will as his Opponents profess themselves to bear to him, if the most inveterate among them will suggest any probable Cause of such a Suspicion, I will give him up, and cease for ever, to say, or write, one Word in his Justification.

If this Imputation is not to rest here, but by the most vile Insinuations, and most strain'd suppos'd Possibilities, it is to fall upon the *sacred Head of Majesty*, without the least Ground or Foundation for such a Suspicion, what can be a more detestable Attempt? which to inlarge upon, would be to share in the Guilt of this odious and black Iniquity. But I will conclude this Point with boldly affirming, that no Man living believes, or will say he believes, that the Sums in this manner expended, were made use of or applied to any Services of the Civil Government, or in Ease or Aid of any Branch of Expence, properly belonging to the Civil List Revenues, or properly to be defray'd out of them.

It comes then now to be consider'd, how far this Method of granting *a Power*, by Act of Parliament, to the Crown, to make use of any part of the Publick Supplies, for Services not specified, and not accounted for, is to be justified.

I do

I do agree, It is one of those things, that is not wantonly, or frequently to be practised, and never but occasionally, and in Cases of Necessity, and such a Necessity, as the Circumstances of Time, and publick Appearances, and the Notoriety of the Posture of Publick Affairs, plainly point out and indicate.

But as in the Methods, and Rules in Parliament, for raising Money, any Innovation, is in itself an Objection, it is proper to consider, how far this Practice is an Innovation; and I shall presently demonstrate, that there is no Difference, between what has been lately done, and what has formerly and frequently been practised, ~~but in~~ Time of War, or in Time of Peace; and if that Distinction doth not always hold good, this Dispute will soon be at an End.

For the Information of those that have not Opportunity, or will not give themselves the Trouble, to examine these Matters, I will give you some Precedents, among many, where more than this has been done, without any Objection or Apprehension.

That the applying several Sums of Money, granted by Parliament to Services not provided for, as well without a previous Authority of Parliament, as with it, has been frequently done, is most notorious.

That Objections having been made to this Liberty, exercis'd without Authority, begot the Method of giving such a Power, in several Clauses of Appropriation, is most certain, and can be trac'd from the first Rise and Spring of it.

That this Method having been introduc'd, to obtain previously the Consent of Parliament, gives a great Security against any suppos'd Abuses, is very plain.

And

And the Power given, by the late Clauses of Appropriation, now so much complain'd of, was taken out of former Clauses of Appropriation, which were frequently repeated, and are to be seen in the Statute Book.

I will give you one Instance, which was afterwards continued, for several Years successively. In the Year 1706, a Latitude is given in the Clause of Appropriation of the Supplies of that Year, *To pay Sums due upon Treaties made, or to be made, and other Charges of the War, for any Time before, or until the 25th of December, 1706.*

I beg it may be observ'd, how general, and unlimited this Power is, *for Treaties made, or, to be made;* by which if any Treaties had at that time been made, altho' they were not laid before the Parliament, for their Approbation, a Power is given to answer the Charge and Expences incurred by them.

Upon what Foundation of reasoning, could this be suppos'd to be done, but that there might be, or even were, Treaties at that time made, attended with an Expence; which Treaties it might have been very prejudicial to have divulg'd at that time.

It goes on to *Treaties to be made, and other Charges of the War, before or until the 25th of December following.* I desire to know, what more general Words can be found, to give an unlimited Power for issuing Money, than are here contain'd, not only *Treaties, but other Charges of the War.*

Let us now see what had been done, before these Clauses were introduce'd, without a previous Authority of Parliament. In the Year 1705, we shall find large Sums of Money exceeding 100,000l. granted, *for extraordinary Expences of the War* in the Year 1703, to make good so much actually paid to

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to those Services, out of the Funds for the Year 1703.

Here is an Instance of Moneys issued out of the Supplies of the Year 1703, by Virtue of Treaties or Agreements, of which no Notice was taken in Parliament in the Year 1704, but supplied in the Year 1705. What Reason can be given for this Delay, but that the Nature of the Services made it unadviseable, to let them be known at the time they were perform'd? And in this Year there was a small Sum granted, to make good the like Sum remitted to Geneva, for *special Services relating to the War*. Can there possibly be a more general and uncertain Account of Publick Money?

Some Objections being made in Parliament, to issuing these Sums without Authority of Parliament, did, as I have already observ'd, introduce the Method of giving Authority by Parliament.

In the Year 1706, there was over and above the Pay of the Forces serving in Catalonia, a Sum of 250,000*l.* granted in one Article, *For prosecuting the Successes of the War in Spain*: Among the Extraordinaries, we find, To the Duke of Savoy, over and above his annual Subsidies, due by Treaties, 50,000*l.* — To Prince Eugene of Savoy, for the War in Italy, 47,500*l.* — And for Foreign Troops of Augmentation sent into Italy, over and above the usual Subsidies due to those Princes, near 40,000*l.* And to Mons. Dazzilier, for particular Services relating to the War in Italy, 16,180*l.* 11*s.*

In the Year 1707, we find in two Articles 97,500*l.* granted to make good the like Sums issued out of the Supplies of former Years, for carrying on the War in Italy. And for prosecuting Successes in Spain, again 150,000*l.*

In the Year 1708, To make good the Services of former Years, To the Duke of Savoy for *special*

cial Service in the Year 1707, 100,000 l. And in one Article we find this Year, the Sum of 500,000 l. granted, for strengthening the Duke of Savoy, making good Alliances with Portugal, and recovering Spain.

I could carry down these sorts of Accounts to the end of the War, and likewise add, that the same Latitude is given, in the Clauses of Appropriation to the end of the Year 1710; but what I have said, is sufficient for my Purpose, and proves, that in all Times, considerable Sums of Money have been both issued, and granted, upon very general Heads, without any particular Services being specified or mention'd, and that the Accounts given of these Services to Parliament, have been conceiv'd in most general and uncertain Terms, that differ'd but little, or not at all, from having no Accounts at all render'd; that this did not proceed from any Remissness or Neglect in the Parliaments of those Days, but they were sensible, that there were Publick Services, that were absolutely necessary to be provided for, and which by the Nature of them, would not admit any publick Account or Explanation to be given of them; and therefore such Accounts were never expected or demanded, altho' equally liable to such Cavils and Objections, as are now made upon the present Occasion.

Let this suffice to show, that it is no new thing in Parliament, to have a Power granted, for issuing Money out of the Supplies of the Year, for Services not specified, in the most general Terms, and that the Accounts given of them have been as general, and as little explicit, as what is now complain'd of; and whoever will compare the late Powers, as express'd in the Acts of Parliament, with the former Practice, will find this to be true.

There remains now but one thing to be consider'd, which is the Distinction that is made between Times of War, and Times of Peace, as if what was necessary and reasonable in the Time of War, does not hold equally so in the Time of Peace.

I will not say, that this Confidence may be more useful and more necessary, before the breaking out of a War than afterwards; but 'tis most certain, that it may be equally useful and expedient, and consequently, equally justifiable.

When Gentlemen talk upon this Subject, they confine themselves, to a State of actual Peace in *Great Britain*; as if this Nation, being not actually engag'd in the War, had no Concern with the rest of *Europe*, involv'd in a ruinous and extensive War.

This sort of Persons, when they are taking one side of the Question, exclaim loudly at the Court of *Great Britain*, for taking no part in defence of the common Cause, and suffering the Success of the Arms of this or that Power to be carried so far, as to overturn the true Balance of Power, which must unavoidably at last bring the War home to us, and if not timely prevented, end in the Ruin and Destruction of all that is dear and valuable to us.

If they are call'd upon to concur in Measures, that may prevent this imminent and impending Danger, their Answer is, What in Time of Peace? These Measures may be endured indeed in the Time of War, but not to be suffer'd in a State of profound Peace and Tranquility.

As if to prevent a War, and to take the proper Steps, that may not only keep us out of the War, but enable us to contribute towards restoring the Publick Tranquility, was less desirable, and a Conduct less justifiable, than to carry on

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and support a War we are unhappily engag'd in.

If then *Paries cum proximus ardet*, it is as advisable to look after ourselves, and to prevent the Flames reaching our Houses, as it would be to extinguish a Fire actually kindled; and if to prevent, and by proper Care to avoid a Cold or a Fever, be easier, safer, and wiser than to cure the Distemper, I may venture to maintain that Measures tending to prevent a War, or that are preparatory to the carrying it on, if it becomes unavoidable, are as justifiable and as reasonable, if necessary, as the same Measures would be in case of an actual War.

To determine this Point, it must be consider'd, what are the Grounds and Foundation upon which such a Confidence may, at any time, be allow'd.

It must be upon a Supposition, that Services may arise that are unforeseen, and therefore could not be provided for; that Opportunities may offer which may be sudden and unexpected, but very essential and decisive; that there are Services, which by the nature of them must be kept secret, because by being divulg'd they would be disappointed; and that there are Services, which equally require the greatest Secrecy from the Circumstances and Situation of the Persons with whom you transact, and this Secrecy must equally extend to future Times as well as preceding Times.

A Man needs to be no better instructed, than from the common News Papers, to know that Princes are always negotiating with other Princes and Powers, to engage them in their Interests; and if we are to depend upon what is commonly said, the last Year hath abounded with Auctions in many Courts of Europe, where there has been

bidding upon one another, to secure Alliances; in Case of Need.

There are Princes whose Circumstances and Situation will not permit them to enter, at once, into offensive Engagements, until a more favourable and safe Opportunity shall present, that will, in the mean time, be induc'd to accept private Subsidies and Supplies, to put themselves in a Condition to declare, when they are called upon; yet these Princes, thus secretly retain'd, being put into the opposite Scale, may turn the Balance of Power of Europe.

There are an infinite Number of Cases which may be suppos'd, but would be very improperly mention'd here, where the Disadvantage would be too great, and very much to be lamented; if in no Case previous, and preceding a War, the Crown of *England* was to be impower'd to lay out any Sum of Money, not specifically granted, and to be specifically accounted for; and these Cases will occur to every thinking Man to be more probable, and of greater Consequence, in a doubtful and undetermin'd Posture of Affairs, and in a time of Negotiation, to prevent and divert an impending War, than they can be in an open and declar'd War.

I have said enough, I hope, to clear this Point, to the Satisfaction of every impartial Man; I think I have prov'd, that *Votes of Credit*, falsely so call'd, or rather *Power* given to the Crown by Authority of Parliament, to issue Money for Services not specified, nor particularly accounted for, is not new or unprecedented, in time of War not controverted, and in other Times and upon proper Occasions, not less necessary and reasonable.

I desire not to be understood to be contend-ing here, to establish the common and ordinary Exercise of this Power; I think it is no more to be

be frequently, and without a proper Occasion made use of, than it is to be totally exploded; but to call it *an additional Grant to the Civil List*, and to insinuate, that it might be half pocketed by the *Ministers*, or by the *King*; if it was not too gross to make such an Impression upon the Mind of any reasonable and honest Man, I would say it was the most wicked and dangerous Attempt that I have ever met with, before I saw this Libel.

When I begun this Work, I did intend to have gone thro' every Particular, but I find, that my Undertaking has unavoidably swell'd to so great a Bulk, that I must refer the Consideration of the other Parts of this Libel to another Opportunity.

If this Piece is thought too tedious, as I fear it will be, in Excuse for myself, I desire it may be consider'd, how unavoidable that prov'd to be, from the nature of the Work I had in hand. This Pamphlet contain'd the Transactions of 12 Years in Parliament, as far as they related to the Publick Revenues and Publick Funds, where the only Business was to give false Colours to Facts, and to impose upon the World by fallacious Representations, that could only be done by dealing in Generals; no Authorities of Law are cited, where the Merits of the Question depend entirely upon the Words of Acts of Parliament, Wit and Reasoning are to supply the Place, and Assertions to serve for Proofs; this made it easy to bring a Work of that nature into a narrow Compass, where the chief Art and Care was, to avoid and to disguise the Truth, which could only be refuted and expos'd, by entering minutely into the Particulars, where every Article was found to contain Matter enough for a common Six-penny Paper. If what I have done proves of any Use or Service to those that will take the Pains to inform

inform themselves, my Purpose is answer'd; and I will conclude with declaring, that there is no one part of this Libel, that does not appear to me to be equally liable to great Objections, compos'd of false Representations, fill'd with odious and invidious Reflections and Insinuations, and pointed where such an Attempt is most unpardonable; and I do declare, that there is no one Article that I have omitted to examine at present, out of a Consciousness of not being able to answer and refute it, which the World shall have the Satisfaction of seeing, in a Second Part, if the Reception, this meets with answers my Expectations.

I was unwilling to leave off without considering the noble Scheme that is here laid down, of a new Constitution arising from the Publick Funds, since the Revolution; but I found this compos'd of so many Absurdities, and yet of the greatest Consequence to the Peace and Happiness of this Nation, that I thought it deserv'd a particular Consideration, which if I set Pen to Paper again, shall be my next Work.

F I N I S.



